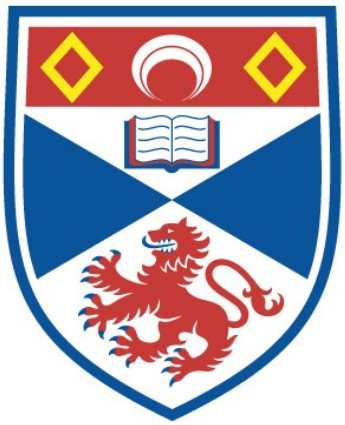
THE FUNCTION OF INTELLIGENCE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT : TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE INTELLIGENCE PRODUCER-CONSUMER DICHOTOMY

Shaun Paul McCarthy

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1997

THE FUNCTION OF INTELLIGENCE IN CRISIS MANAGEMENT:

Towards an Understanding of the Intelligence Producer - Consumer Dichotomy

SHAUN PAUL McCARTHY

Ph.D.

International Relations
University of St. Andrews
1996

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

If ever there were circumstances when a Ph.D should have been awarded jointly, then this work qualifies for that disticntion. For it is not only a record of my work but of the love, understanding and unqualified support that I received from Danielle, my wife and closest friend. Without her this task could never have been undertaken let alone completed. This thesis is as much a reflection of her effort, sacrifice and perseverance as it is mine. At the outset of my academic career was Professor Deon Fourie, whose instruction, guidance and encouragement laid those important foundation blocks that later proved to be invaluable. I must also acknowledge my supervisor, Dr Bruce (Teflon) Hoffman. His patience and recognition of my need to be left to my own devices but at the same time to be kept on a disciplined rein, is an endorsement of his supervisory skills and insight into managing difficult and stubborn 'middle-aged' students. I must also thank Professor Paul Wilkinson, whose understanding and empathy enabled me to complete my studies with the generous financial assistance of the School of History and International Relations. It is my sincere hope that this work is a fitting tribute to the trust that he and others have placed in me. In support of my efforts, however, was the tireless professionalism of Gina Wilson. Gina not only bore the brunt of my frustration with the bureaucracy, but remained a true friend. Without her astute insight and perceptiveness my progress would have been all that much harder. And there is Dr Magnus Ranstorp whose friendship, objective advice, knowledge and patience was of infinite value. Magnus was there to help me at that stage when most Ph.D students reach the point of despair. He helped to pull me through those precarious moments. Finally, I would like to thank all those individuals who unselfishly gave of their time during the interviews conducted. In particular, Admiral Stansfield Turner, Vincent Cannistraro, John Walcott and Paula De Brianski who went out of her way to help me locate so many of the key individuals. And to all those aspirant Ph.D students that I leave behind, remember that the Ph.D process not only tests your knowledge and analytical skill, but it will also test of your mental stamina, your determination and finally it will demonstrate to you how little you really know and how much you still have to learn.

ABSTRACT

An analysis of the function of intelligence in crisis management:

Towards an understanding of the intelligence producer - consumer dichotomy.

This study is an analysis of the relationship between intelligence and policy, focusing specifically on the role of intelligence in crisis management. The conventional wisdom on intelligence and crisis management tends to examine each subject in isolation of the other. This study therefore provides an integrated approach to the theory of the intelligence process and the principles of crisis management, identifying those factors that influence the producer - consumer relationship. Past analyses of the intelligence producer - consumer relationship have revolved around the normative theory of the traditionalist and activist disciplines, as set forth in the Kent-Kendall debate. This study transcends that boundary. Building on the traditional concept of the intelligence cycle by examining the application of intelligence in crisis management, the study demonstrates how in practice the cycle is disregarded and circumvented. It provides new insight into the complexities of the traditionalist and activist approaches to intelligence, while demonstrating how intelligence can be used in support of crisis management and decision making.

Using terrorism as a crisis phenomenon, the study utilises as case studies the series of terrorist attacks against United States' interests and foreign policy objectives in Lebanon during the first Reagan Administration from 1983 to 1985. It analyses the reasons behind the intelligence failures in preventing the bombing of the two U.S. Embassies and the U.S. Marine Barracks in Beirut. It also reveals the consequences of the kidnapping of the CIA Chief of Station, William Buckley, and the implications of that event for American intelligence capabilities during the Lebanon crisis. The role of intelligence and the tension between the intelligence and the decision making communities, as well as the media, during the hijacking of TWA Flight 847, are also analysed. By examining each case study through a framework that combines the intelligence cycle and crisis management principles, the responses of the Reagan Administration to the above threats and incidents are analysed. The conficts between key decision making individuals in the Reagan Administration and their influence on the intelligence analysis process is also examined. The study reveals the interactive role and influence of the National Security Council Staff as the producer - consumer interface and the influence of the media and public interest on crisis decision making. It concludes with a presentation of an intelligence and crisis management paradigm, with suggestions for further academic endeavour in this field.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BLT	Battalion Landing Team
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CMT	Crisis Management Team
CNN	Cable News Network
COS	Chief of Station
DCI	Director of Central Intelligence
DI	Directorate of Intelligence
HUMINT	Human Intelligence
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
LAF	Lebanese Armed Forces
NIE	National Intelligence Estimate
NSA	National Security Advisor
NSC	National Security Council
NSC Staff	National Security Council Staff
NSDD	National Security Decision Directive
NIO	National Intelligence Officer
PFIAB	President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organisation
SNIE	Special National Intelligence Estimate
TACSAT	Tactical Satelite Communication's Apparatus
TECHINT	Technical Intelligence

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION

> Just before dawn one winter's morning, New Year's Day or thereabouts, two real, full-grown, living men fell from a great height, twenty-nine thousand and two feet towards the English Channel, without benefit of parachutes or wings, out of a clear blue sky.[1]

Unless the precise truth pertaining to the explosion on board Pan Am 103 in the cold night air thirty thousand feet above the Scottish town of Lockerbie on December 21, 1988, becomes known, one can only speculate as to whether Salmon Rushdie's Satanic Verses was a prophesy or served as the inspiration for Islamic terrorists bent on revenge. The similarities between the opening lines of Rushdie's book and the circumstances surrounding those last fatal and tragic moments for the unfortunate passengers aboard the *Maid of the Seas* could be described by Islamisists as poetic justice for a western society who harboured the author who had aggrieved millions of Muslims and incurred the wrath of Iran.[2] Pan-Am Flight 103 had a deeper significance than being just one more crisis for America. It was another major setback for US intelligence capabilities in Lebanon.[3] It was once again a reminder to the world's Superpower

---

[1] Salman Rushdie, The Satanic Verses. (London, Viking Books, 1988), p.3. The Satanic Verses was published in September 1988, three months before the bombing of Pan-AM Flight 103 on 21 December 1988.

[2] In February 1989, the Ayatollah Khomeini issued a Fatwa against author Salman Rushdie in revenge for his sin of blasphemy against Islam. See Nikki R Keddie and Mark J Gasiorowski, Neither East Nor West: Iran, The Soviet Union and The United States, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1990), p.31. See also Charles P Wallace and Dan Fisher, "Khomeini Says Author of 'Satanic Verses' Should Be Killed," Los Angeles Times, February 15, 989. See also Youssef M Ibrahim, "Khomeini's Judgement: Iranian Leader's Instruction to Kill Writer May Reflect a Calculation Rooted in Politics," New York Times, February 16, 1989 and Michael Ross, "Khomeini Renews Call for Death of Rushdie," Los Angeles Times, February 20, 1989

[3] Among the passengers that were killed in the mid-air explosion were a number of U.S. intelligence agents who had been stationed in Beirut. See the statement delivered by Mr Billy Vincent to the U.S. House of Representatives, Sub-Committee On Government Operations on September 25-26, 1989 in Washington D.C. For an overview on the lessons of Lockerbie from a counter terrorist perspective, see Paul Wilkinson, "The Lessons of

that despite its formidable power, it was incapable of comprehending and exercising its influence effectively in the Lebanon environment.[4] The principal reason behind this failure has been the disproportionate allocation of U.S. military and intelligence resources between its principal adversary, the former Soviet Union and Third World issues. Security, foreign policy and crisis management were influenced by and had always been conducted within the context of that Superpower relationship.[5]

Lockerbie," Research Institute for the Study of Conflict and Terrorism, RISCT, No.226, (December 1989). There have been numerous allegations that the bomb attack was linked to Operation 'Corea', which was a covert CIA operation. It was alleged that a Syrian drug dealer, Monzer al-Kassar, who was the son in law of Syrian Chief of Intelligence, General Ali Doubar, who had close ties with Abu al Abbas and Abu Nidal was being protected as an intelligence source by the CIA. See Richard Norton Taylor, "Bomb Was Carried by a CIA Drug Mule," Guardian, November 16, 1994. See the feature article in Mednews, Vol.3, No.15, May 14, 1990 and Martin Walker and David Pallister, "CIA Accused of Drug Link to Lockerbie," Manchester Guardian Weekly, Vol. 141, No.19, December 11, 1989. According to Vincent Cannistraro, a former CIA counter terrorist officer, during an **interview** with the author on July 21, 1995 in McLean Virginia, the bombing was perpetrated by two Libyan intelligence agents, Ali al-Megrahi and Lamen Khalifa Fhimah in revenge for the U.S. military raid on Tripoli. Cannistraro, however, does not believe that Libya is the sole perpetrator. Libya provided support for an operation that was ordered and paid for by Iran and carried out with the complicity of Syria. See also Michael Wines, "U.S. Inquiry Links Libyan Operatives to Pan Am Blast," New York Times, October 10, 1990 and David Black and Harvey Morris, "Libya Blamed for Lockerbie," Independent, December 14, 1990. See also David Gow and David Sharrock, "Libya Accused of Lockerbie Attack in Revenge for Tripoli Bombing," Manchester Guardian Weekly, July 7, 1991, p.9. Whatever the reasons, however, what is true is that there were a number of U.S. intelligence agents on the aircraft at the time. Among the passengers were the following intelligence officials: Beirut Deputy Chief of Station - Matthew Gannon; Agents Ronald Lariviere, Daniel O 'Connor, William Leyrer and Charles McKee, who was on secondment to the CIA from the DIA. See "CIA Station Chief in Beirut Was Killed in Pan Am Crash," New York Times, December 25, 198. According to Time Magazine, evidence suggests that Libya was responsible for sabotaging the plane. Syrian drug dealers helped to plant the bomb and that the real targets were CIA agents. For the most recent speculation on Lockerbie, see the cover story by Roy Rowan, Time, April, 27, 1992, pp. 26-32. Rowan draws similarities between the Lockerbie attack and another incident in Gander, Newfoundland in 1985, in which it was later established during the 1989 Iran-Contra Affair, that the doomed aircraft belonging to Arrow Air which was one of the charter companies that had been used by Lt.Col. Oliver North for regular arms shipments. Among the many U.S. armed forces personnel on board that aircraft, were at least twenty Special Forces personnel, (Navy Seal Team 6) who specialised in counter terrorist operations. There was speculation that they were returning from a secret mission in Lebanon. Shortly after that aircraft crashed, a caller claiming to represent Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility for the crash. See also John Arlidge, "Lockerbie: an unsolved case of murder," Independent, January 25, 1995. Although speculative, it is not altogether implausible that Iran carried out a concerted strategy which targeted the CIA and U.S. intelligence throughout the Reagan era.

[4] See Raymond Tanter, Who's at the Helm? Lessons of Lebanon, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1990) and Nikkie R Keddie and Mark J Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, and Martin Indyke, "Reagan and the Middle East: Learning the Art of the Possible," SAIS Review, Vol.7, No.1, (1987).

[5] See Roy Allison and Phil Williams, (eds.), Superpower Competition and Crisis Prevention in the Third World, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press,1990). Also Richard K Betts, Soldiers, Statesmen and Cold War Crises, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1977), Chapter 10

1.1 Research aims and objectives

This thesis which is a case-study analysis of the Reagan Administration's crisis management from the perspective of U.S. intelligence practice, is intent on contributing to the knowledge and understanding of those forces which influence crisis decision making and intelligence tasking and analysis in the American government. The theoretical background on this subject has centred around the doctrine of the producer-consumer relationship as embodied in the traditionalist and activist disciplines which is set forth in the Kent-Kendall debate.[6] I will argue that these theoretical approaches have produced more questions than answers because they have failed to apply theory to practice. The solution, therefore, is to transcend the boundary of normative theory and to develop an alternative analytical paradigm by examining the relationship between intelligence and policy making during crises. The justification for using crisis management as a framework is based upon two arguments.

The first holds that governments tend to manage from crisis to crisis, despite trying to manage by objectives.[7] Because governments do not act in a vacuum, their objectives are affected and, in some instances, determined by their external environment.[8] However, knowledge of that environment is necessary if sound policy decisions are to be made and implemented. That knowledge is provided

---

[6] For a comprehensive overview of the Kent-Kendall Debate see Jack Davis, "The Kent-Kendall Debate of 1949," Studies in Intelligence, Vol.36, No.5, (1992), pp.91-104. For a more in-depth perspective of Sherman Kent's views and his role as the Chairman of the Board of National Estimates, (1952 - 1967), see Donald P Steury, (ed.), Sherman Kent and the Board of National Estimates: Collected Essays, (Centre for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Springfield, VA, 1994) and Bruce D Berkowitz and Allan E Goodman, Strategic Intelligence for American National Security, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989)

[7] After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Robert McNamara stated that "There is no longer any such thing as strategy, only crisis management", see Coral Bell, The Conventions of Crisis: A Study in Diplomatic Management , (London, Oxford University Press, 1971), p.2

[8] See Herbert E Meyer, Real-World Intelligence, (New York, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), p.6

through intelligence. This observation promotes the conceptualisation of current intelligence. It is the manner in which intelligence is requested and communicated during crisis situations which stimulates questions relating to the producer-consumer dichotomy. By analysing how intelligence analysts relate to policy makers who, in theory, direct the intelligence tasking process and how the policy makers respond to the analysts findings and recommendations during crisis situations, a greater understanding of the producer-consumer relationship can be achieved. Through focusing on the impact of a series of terrorist crises upon the Reagan Administration's foreign policy objectives in Lebanon, the dynamics which shape and influence crisis management and its supporting intelligence analysis are identified and analysed.

The second argument is based upon the fact that, in studying crisis management, a variety of influential factors and processes are exposed which shape and influence intelligence analysis and management process. These include power structures, values and interests, threat and risk perceptions, commitment, resolve and determination, bargaining and negotiations, communication, decision-making processes and support relationships. Included in the relationship category is the role and function of intelligence as a warning mechanism (strategic) and support (operational) service for decision making. The study of crises also facilitates a variety of processes and variables and allows for the application of different theoretical approaches. Crisis management and its influence upon intelligence presents an analytical challenge for the integration of theory and practice while arriving at a greater understanding of the function of intelligence and the producer - consumer relationship. By studying the empirical dynamics of crisis events and the interaction between the policy makers and the intelligence analysts and managers as those events unfold and then, by comparing the empirical evidence to the theory of the producer-consumer

relationship, inconsistencies between theory and behaviour can be identified. Crisis situations are deemed to be more appropriate models for studying decision making behaviour than non-crises because they dominate a greater amount of energy and attention spent by policy makers.[9] This is based upon the premise that crises threaten strategic interests and therefore demand immediate and high priority attention.[10] Crises remain at the forefront of policy making and therefore exert an even higher demand on intelligence than routine decision making processes.

In an effort to bridge the theoretical with the practical domains it is necessary to review the existing literature on intelligence and crisis management. To date, nothing substantial has been written on the subject with the exception of a chapter by Stan A Taylor and Theodore J Ralston in Alexander L George, *Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management.*[11] Specifically there is little reference to the application of intelligence and crisis management in terrorism and its use has focused primarily on war avoidance.[12] A brief comment on the phenomenon of crisis management and its intersection with intelligence is appropriate.

The Cold War, and indeed lessons learnt from the two great wars and post-World War II regional conflicts in Korea, Vietnam and the Middle East, has influenced the approach to the discipline of crisis management.[13] This is not surprising, given both the actual destruction witnessed and the potential destructive capability of

[9] See Uriel Rosenthal, Michael T Charles and Paul T Hart, Coping With Crises: The Management of Disasters, Riots and Terrorism, (Springfield, Illinois,Charles C Thomas, 1989), p.7

[10] See Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:

[11] See Stanley A Taylor and Theodore Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander George, Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management, (Oxford, Westview Press, 1991), pp.395-412

[12] Whereas Uriel Rosenthal's *Coping With Crises: The Management of Disasters, Riots and Terrorism*, is a seminal work on the phenomenon of crisis management and terrorism, he does not cover the linkage between intelligence and crisis management in this work.

[13] See James E Dougherty and Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, Contending Theories of International Relations, (New York, Harper & Row, Second Edition, 1981), pp. 494-510

nuclear war. Salmon argues that the gravity of the Cuban Missile Crisis provided the turning point in the post-war approach to crisis management and that the focus actually shifted from the mitigation of crises to crisis prevention.[14] The Cuban Missile Crisis had a profound affect upon American foreign policy and the attitude towards crisis management.[15] The successful management of that crisis created a belief that crises could be both managed and exploited. This confidence is reflected in much of the literature in the wake of the Cuban Missile Crisis. One notable contribution is that of Thomas Schelling who wrote in a chapter titled 'The Manipulation of Risk' in *Arms and Influence,* that there are few choices between war and peace and that the questions that arise are ones that imply degrees of risk. Since risks exist, these should be utilised, but, properly managed.[16] This implies that crises should not only be managed for the purpose of damage limitation, but for exploiting whatever opportunities exist, short of inadvertently pushing the situation over the threshold between political confrontation and the outbreak of war. Consequently the conventional wisdom on crisis management and indeed on intelligence, has shown the tendency to gravitate around the concept of war and surprise avoidance.[17] While not attempting to detract nor minimise the importance of these concepts, this study attempts to examine the issues of intelligence and crisis management from a more practical perspective, aimed at creating a framework

---

[14] Trevor Salmon and Raad Alkadari, "Crises, Crisis Management and Crisis Prevention," in R Carey, and Trevor Salmon, International Security in the Modern World, (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1992), p.124

[15] For an overview of the Kennedy Administration's approach to the Cuban Missile Crisis and the function of intelligence during that emergency, see Sherman Kent, "A Crucial Estimate Relived," Studies in Intelligence, Vol.36, No.5, (1992), pp.111-119. See also Klaus Knorr, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Cuban Missiles," World Politics, XVI:3, (April 1964), pp.461-462. For other views on the management of the Cuban Missile Crisis, see A and R Wohlstetter, "Controlling the Risks in Cuba," Adelphi Paper No.17 (London, International Institute of Strategic Studies, 1965). Also Arthur M Schlesinger Jr, A Thousand Days: John F Kennedy in the White House, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1965)

[16] See Thomas Schelling, Arms and Influence (London, Yale University Press, 1966), p.7

[17] Alexander L George, (1991), op.cit:, and Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:

according to which crisis management and intelligence as a support function can be analysed. This will be achieved through examining the role of intelligence during crises and how intelligence analysts have challenged the assumptions upon which crisis policy decisions have been based. It will also examine how policy makers have failed to task intelligence organisations effectively. The response of the Reagan Administration to those situations which presented a direct threat or opportunity to their policy in Lebanon will be examined. In addition, their relationship with the intelligence community,[18] and the manner in which they responded to crises according to the theory of crisis management principles will also be considered. The use of crisis management theory provides a reference against which government behaviour can be evaluated in accordance with their conformity to policy and how these objectives are pursued with the assistance of intelligence analysis.

The main objective of crisis management is to achieve a satisfactory resolution of the situation in such a manner that the vital interests and values of the government are secured and protected. This includes existing policy and is achieved through a process of coercion and accommodation in order to achieve the maximum concession from the adversary while simultaneously maintaining one's own position relatively intact.[19] It is precisely the manner in which the crisis situation is managed, i.e. the stratagem of using coercion and accommodation, and the influence of these methods upon the normal policy making process and objectives, which determine intelligence analysis and gives rise to the producer-consumer dichotomy.

---

[18] The intelligence community is the term used to describe all of the government organisations that contribute towards the collection, analysis and distribution of intelligence information to decision and policy makers.

[19] Phil Williams, Crisis Management: Confrontation and Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age, (New York, Wiley & Sons, 1972), p.30

Crises can assume different forms and emanate from various developments - surprise attack, the outbreak of war, a coup, the collapse of a government, increasing possibility of an insurgency, rampant demonstrations, riots, assassination of an important political figure, massive economic failure, the downing of an aircraft, the sinking or seizure of a ship, the failure of nuclear energy installations and ecological disasters such as massive oil spills.[20] It is therefore reasonable to say that the discipline of crisis management is extremely wide and ranges from war and its avoidance to the management of natural and man-made disasters.[21] This makes the delimitation of crises essential in order to avoid the study from becoming unwieldy. The role of intelligence prior to a crisis is to eliminate surprise by alerting and warning of an impending development. Once the crisis has occurred, however, the role of intelligence is to keep the policy makers, the crisis managers and those agencies responsible for implementing policy and crisis decisions informed of events and circumstances as they unfold.[22]

For the purposes of this research, the crisis phenomenon that has been selected is terrorism and the manner in which it was applied against the United States and its foreign policy interests in Lebanon. As a foremost democratic nation and the world's superpower, the USA affords scholars greater advantages in studying political science phenomena in comparison to closed societies. Open societies offer the scholar of intelligence greater recourse to research material and data. More research has been done and written on US intelligence than any other nation.

---

[20] See Uriel Rosenthal (et.al.), (1989), op.cit:, p.8

[21] See Gerald C Meyers and John Holusha, Managing Crises: A Positive Approach, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1986), p.4

[22] See Charles C Cogan, "Intelligence and Crisis Management: The Importance of the Pre-Crisis," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.9, No.4, pp.633-650

The reason why the American intelligence model and the Reagan Administration's foreign policy initiatives in Lebanon have been selected for this study is the fact that the memoirs of the key individuals who were involved, notably, Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger, George Schultz, William Casey, Howard Teicher, Geoffrey Kemp and Robert McFarlane and Michael Ledeen are available.[23] Another important consideration is the fact that these individuals are no longer serving officials and are therefore at greater liberty to participate in interviews. In addition to these first-hand accounts, there is a seminal work on U.S. foreign policy in Lebanon written by John Walcott and David Martin.[24] Supplementary material is to be found in the works of leading journalists who covered the events in Lebanon during the period in question.[25] All of these publications shed light on the Lebanon crisis, albeit from their individual perspectives, they nevertheless provide the scholar with valuable source material and variations in their interpretation of the events.

The selection of terrorism as a crisis phenomenon is attributed to the fact that outside the threat of war, terrorism must be considered as a direct and major threat against state interests and public safety. Not only does terrorism pose a threat to the state's security, however,

[23] See Ronald Reagan, An American Life, (London, Hutchinson, 1990), p.477.See also George Schultz, Turmoil and Triumph. My Years as Secretart of State, (New York, Macmillan, 1993). See Caspar Weinberger, Fighting For Peace, (New York, Warner Books, 1991) See Howard Teicher, Twin Pillars to Desert Storm: America's Flawed Vision in the Middle East, (New York, William Morrow & Company Inc, 1993) For an account of William Casey, see Joseph E Persico, Casey, (New York, Viking, 1990). For McFarlane see R.G. Hoxie (ed.), The Presidency and National Security Policy, (New York Center for the Study of the Presidency, 1984), chapter 15 by Robert McFarlane, titled, "The National Security Council: Organistion for Policy Making." See also Geoffrey Kemp, Forever Enemies? American Policy and the Islamic Republic of Iran, (Washington D.C, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1994) Finally see Michael Ledeen, Perilous Statecraft, (New York, Macmillan, 1988)

[24] See David Martin and John Walcott, Best Laid Plans: The Inside Story of America's Secret War Against Terrorism, (New York, Harper & Row, 1988)

[25] See Eric Hammel, The Root: The Marines in Beirut, August 1982 - February 1984, (London, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), pp.77-83 and Thomas L Friedman, From Beirut to Jerusalem, (New York, Farrar Straus Giroux, 1989), p.198. See also Robert Fisk, Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992) See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, Landslide: The Unmaking of the President, 1984-1988, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1988)

but it raises additional issues such as the role of intelligence, the media, and the relationship between law and civil liberties.

Counter-terrorism requires support in the form of current intelligence. Current and warning intelligence provides advance notification of impending terrorist attacks and plays a supportive role in pre-emptive counter terrorist operations. In circumstances where such warning has failed either as a result of an intelligence failure or because the consumer has failed to realise the implications thereof, a crisis situation may arise. Current intelligence is also of significant importance as information which is immediately or potentially useful to para-military forces or the police in the planning and the execution of their operations.[26] During counter-terrorist operations, intelligence supports law enforcement and the investigative and surveillance functions of the authorities.[27] Accordingly intelligence may be utilised to locate and rescue hostages, gather information on the whereabouts, movements and logistics of terrorists, or lead to their arrest and be used as evidence in their prosecution.[28] Whereas policy makers expect warning intelligence to forewarn them of an impending crisis, current intelligence is imperative in the planning and implementation of crisis response, such as a counter-terrorist operation. During crises, decision makers are able to draw upon intelligence in order to give them the necessary background, current objectives and modus operandi of their adversary.

Whereas a crisis is an event of short duration, the protracted nature of the Iranian hostage crisis predominated US foreign policy during the Carter Administration. This propelled terrorism as a crisis

---

[26] Bruce Watson, Susan Watson and Gerald Hopple, (eds.), United States Intelligence. An Encyclopaedia, (New York, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), p.421

[27] This professional opinion was expressed by Robert Grace, FBI Special Agent in Charge of Counter terrorism and crisis management, during an **interview** with the author on July 13, 1995 at the FBI Academy, Quantico Bay, Virginia, USA.

[28] For an example of how intelligence is used in combating terrorism, see Perry's account of the CIA campaign against the Abu Nidal Organisation in the early 1980s. Since 1981, the CIA had been conducting an extensive intelligence gathering operation against ANO: See Mark Perry, (1992), op.cit: pp.191-194

phenomenon to the forefront of US foreign policy during the Reagan Administration, climaxing in the Iran-Contra Affair. Terrorism exerts a detrimental and obstructive influence upon policy implementation.[29] In 1985, the hijacking of Flight TWA 847 demonstrated the vulnerability of the US to terrorism. Commenting upon that incident as well as the general frustration of the Reagan Administration in dealing with terrorism in the Middle East at the time, a senior US intelligence official observed: "We just weren't able to conduct foreign policy as long as we had to deal with terrorism on an everyday level."[30]

An essential function of the intelligence community is to monitor the effects of and reaction to the implementation of government policy upon the environment and to provide the policy maker with feedback on the effectiveness and perceived legitimacy of government policy. In the case of providing feedback on the domestic environment's response to policy initiatives, the FBI remains responsible for this function. Providing feedback from the external or international environment is the responsibility of the CIA and the State Department. This responsibility introduces an additional dimension to the producer-consumer dichotomy and any attempt to examine that relationship would therefore be incomplete without consideration of the role and impact of the media and public opinion on crisis management decision making and response initiatives.

---

[29] See Alex P Schmidt and Ronald D Crelinsten, (eds.), "Western Responses To Terrorism," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, (Winter 1992), pp. 14-25

[30] See Mark Perry, (1992), op.cit:, p. 190. This sentiment was also confirmed by Noel Koch, former Pentagon counter terrorist officer during the Reagan Administration in a **telephone interview** with the author on February 21, 1996

1.2 Questions and assumptions

The problems that arise when considering the function of intelligence in crisis management originate from the conventional perception of intelligence production and management. The processes of warning, tasking, collection, analysis and distribution are in most instances too cumbersome to provide swift and context relevant information available for ready use by the crisis managers. Reaction to this dilemma is two-fold. One is the tendency of decision makers to analyse raw information on their own. The other is to search for alternative sources of information. Therefore, the natural questions that emanate from this problem and which this study will attempt to answer are the following:

1. What is the function of intelligence in the political system and in particular, with regard to crisis management? During a crisis situation who is, and who should be, responsible for intelligence analysis? Does the locality of analysis shift from the domain of the intelligence community to that of the crisis manager?

2. Following the above argument, how can the traditional concept of the intelligence cycle be adapted to demonstrate the dynamics at work during crises decision making? Is the intelligence cycle an adequate model for understanding and explaining the dynamics within the producer-consumer relationship? If not, how can a more appropriate and demonstrative paradigm be designed?

3. During a crisis situation, how does the policy maker's response influence intelligence tasking, analysis, management and the producer-consumer relationship? If the policy maker acts as his own analyst, what are the implications for the producer - consumer relationship and which laws or discipline should then govern that relationship?

4. In responding to a crisis situation, does the crisis management team formulate a concerted strategy in line with the broader strategic

objectives of the national interest and is that strategy based upon intelligence? Is the strategy subjected to a critical overview, not just at the onset, but as circumstances unfold, i.e. resulting in periodic review? Furthermore, how is the linkage between estimative and current intelligence managed? Is the information that is received treated simply as information or is it converted into intelligence through an analytical process? If so, what is that process and how does it differ, if in any way, from conventional analytical methods? Is the tasking of intelligence subverted through deference to immediate tactical and operational requirements which supersede those of the broader strategic objectives?

Essentially this study must endeavour to produce an alternative paradigm, one that reflects the linkage between the intelligence process, crisis management principles and those external forces which shape and influence intelligence analysis and crisis response. Every theory is based upon a preconceived premise. The essence of this hypothetical bias is the belief that crisis management and response cannot be conducted without due regard for intelligence. The timely production of objective analysis and its effective utilisation by policy makers is crucial to the successful handling of a crisis situation.[31] There are unfortunately a number of obstacles and barriers which often result in intelligence and policy failures. Betts has commented that:

> ...most crucial mistakes have seldom been made by collectors of raw information, occasionally by professionals who produce finished analyses, but most often by decision makers who consume the product of intelligence services. Policy premises constrict perception and administrative workloads constrain reflection. Intelligence failure is political and psychological more than organisational.[32]

---

[31] See Charles C Cogan, op.cit:, pp.633-650

[32] Richard Betts, "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable," World Politics, XXXI, (October 1978), pp. 61-89

It follows that intelligence tasking and analysis are influenced by the circumstances generated during crises. It is further contended that crisis management requirements not only distort objective analysis but that they induce a shift in the location of the responsibility for analysis from the domain of the intelligence community to that of the policy maker. One of the objectives of this hypothesis is to test that assumption.

Towards that objective, specific questions and assumptions with regard to the functioning of the crisis management team must be examined. The first assumption holds that, in responding to a crisis situation, the Crisis Management Team (CMT) embarks upon a logical sequence of actions in the formulation of a response strategy. These steps are deemed to be:

1) The evaluation of all available intelligence and information pertaining to the crisis situation.

2) Threat perception - where the nature of the crisis and its impact upon the government's values, objectives and policies are determined.

3) Risk analysis - where the options for responding to a crisis are considered and the cost in terms of compromise to the government's policies, objectives and legitimacy, as well as the response of the environment to the crisis strategy, are evaluated.

4) Strategy selection - where the course of action is decided upon and authorised.

5) Crisis response - where the strategy selected is implemented, monitored and systematically adjusted as the situation unfolds.

The second assumption holds that: during a crisis situation, the constraints placed upon the CMT, i.e. the lack of time and sensitivity of the issue, effectively cause a transfer in the location of analysis from the intelligence community to that of the CMT. It follows that the adequacy of the traditional concept of the intelligence cycle as it

stands, must be questioned as a theoretical model for understanding the intelligence process.

The third basic assumption contends that: in a terrorist-type crisis situation, the demand for intelligence challenges the protection of assets and methods. A final assumption holds that: Whereas crises generate confusion and therefore interfere with the structured and normal bureaucratic decision making pattern of government, crisis decision making is deemed to be different and therefore the normal channels of command, communication, control, and intelligence (C3I) are distorted. The language in the social sciences is generally, and in crisis management and intelligence in particular, often used in everyday social interaction. Therefore before we can continue the key concept of crisis management, which is central to this study must be clarified and defined.

1.3 Defining Crisis Management

The manner in which concepts are used often implies underlying assumptions. It is essential, therefore, to explain and define crisis management. Crisis is generally used as a pervasive term to describe disruption and disorder. Within the discipline of international politics, crisis has become synonymous with conflict phenomena ranging from diplomacy to war.[33] Crises occur at the macro and micro levels of human behaviour. At the macro level, crises involve conflict between nation-states. At the micro level, crises constitute conflict between groups or individual actors. The distinguishing features of a crisis are the combination of its composite three elements, namely, threat or opportunity, shortage of time, and stress.[34] A crisis is

[33] For further explanation of the concept of crisis, see Daniel Frei, (ed.), International Crisis and Crisis Management, (London, Saxon House, 1978), pp.101-117 and Oran Young, The Intermediaries: Third Parties in International Crises, (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1968), p.10.

[34] For the characteristics of crisis, see Alastair Buchan, Crisis Management: The New Diplomacy, (Boulogne-sur-Seine, Atlantic Institute, 1966), p.21 and Alexander L George,

perceived once a threat to values, norms or objectives is identified. Conversely, it is not always the identification of a threat, but the recognition of an opportunity to be exploited within a short space of time during extraordinary circumstances, which may trigger the stimuli for crisis recognition.

The limited availability of time in which to respond to the perceived threat or in which to exploit the opportunity, combined with a perceived threat to values and objectives, induces anxiety and stress.[35] Stress is described by Holsti and George as:

> [t]he reaction to disturbances in physiological, social and psychological systems induced by fear and anxiety when an individual perceives a threat to one or more values.[36]

Similarly, Janis and Mann observe that:

> Psychological stress is a generic term designating unpleasant emotional states evoked by threatening environmental events or stimuli. A "stressful" event is any change in the environment that typically induces a high degree of unpleasant emotion (such as anxiety, guilt or shame) and affects normal patterns of information processing.[37]

Stress can therefore be described as a state of mind experienced by decision makers and induced by environmental challenges requiring a response within a limited time. The underlying factor which has contributed to the myriad of definitions of crisis, stems not only from the methodological approaches adopted, but also from the

---

(1991), op.cit:, pp.23-25. For an overview of the literature of crisis management, see Michael Haas, "Research on International Crisis: Obsolescence of an Approach?", International Interactions, Vol.13, No.1, (1986), pp.23-58

[35] See James E Dougherty and Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, (1981), op.cit:, pp.499-500 and Wilbert S Ray, "Mild Stress and Problem Solving," American Journal of Psychology, LXXVIII, (1965), pp.227-234.

[36] See O. Hoslti (ed.), "The Effects of Stress on the Performance of Foreign Policy Makers," Political Science Annual, Vol.6, (1975), p.257

[37] See Irvin Janis (ed.), Decision-Making, (New York, The Free Press, 1977), p.50

actual context within which crises occur.[38] Irrespective of their methodological approaches and the context within which the term *crisis* is applied, regular recurrent factors are identified. These are the presence of both danger and opportunity, the issue of vital goals and objectives and the question of limited time for action. Within the context of this study a suitable definition of the term crisis must correspond to the methodology applied. This implies a definition of crisis which adheres to the concept of crisis situations created by non-territorial groups against territorial entities such as state actors and non-territorial entities such as multinational corporations. The most appropriate definition in the literature that corresponds to this objective is that of Charles Hermann who defines crisis as:

> A crisis situation threatens high-priority goals of the decision making unit, restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed and surprises the members of the decision making unit by its occurrence.[39]

Crisis management is the term attributed to the response to crisis situations. It includes general normative principles of crisis management as advocated by Alexander.[40] The first principle being the limitation of objectives by the crisis management authority. By maintaining a curb on ambitions, the crisis management team is able to operate within realistic parameters and prevent undue escalation between the adversarial parties. The second principle is the limitation of excessive means to achieve the objectives thereby consciously preventing any undue escalation in the conflict. The third principle, upon which the analytical focus of this thesis is based, is the

---

[38] For an overview of various approaches, see Michael Brecher, "Toward a Theory of International Crisis Behaviour," International Studies Quarterly, Vol.21, (March 1977), pp.39-40

[39] See Charles F Hermann (ed.), International Crises: Insights from Behavioural Research, (New York, The Free Press, 1972), p.13

[40] See Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.23-24

necessity for intelligence.[41] Establishing and maintaining a line of communication between the adversarial parties involved is the basis of the fourth principle. The fifth requirement is the creation of and access to crisis management capabilities, which may facilitate the effective implementation of crisis management instruments and techniques towards damage limitation.[42] The sixth principle is the search for and acquisition of legitimacy - a platform of support and endorsement for the crisis response strategy. The last principle, is the avoidance of responding in a manner which may establish a precedent for future crises and expected response actions. These principles are discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

1.4 Methodology

Because there is no single methodological approach that is perfect, studies in international politics must identify those analytical tools, which despite their shortcomings, are best suited to offer a framework towards analysis. In many instances it is not one approach, but a combination of two or more that have the potential to offer the basics which can be adapted as a research tool. This study is no exception. The method used in this thesis is an evaluation of the empirical data from the case studies against the generic principles of crisis management in conjunction with the processes described in the intelligence cycle. By comparing the response to the terrorist events in Lebanon against the principles of crisis management and the behaviour of the intelligence community from the perspective of the intelligence cycle's components, crisis management and the relationship between decision making and

[41] See Theodore Taylor and Stanley Ralston who provide a useful overview of the necessity for intelligence during crisis situations in Alexander George (ed.), (1991), op.cit:, pp.29-30

[42] For an overview of instruments and techniques in crisis situations, see Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:, pp.73-98

intelligence by the Reagan Administration in that specific theatre is evaluated. The U.S. foreign policy initiatives in Lebanon, during the first Reagan Administration provides the geographic and temporal setting for this study. It focuses on a series of crises, notably the terrorist attacks against the U.S. embassies in Beirut, the Marine Barracks, the kidnapping of CIA Chief Of Station, William Buckley and finally the hijacking of TWA Flight 847. These incidents are examined in relation to the principles of crisis management and the function of intelligence in support of those principles. The case-studies provide empirical data for the primary analysis of the relationship between the intelligence community and the policy makers in the Reagan Administration thus providing an insight into the producer - consumer relationship. The case studies selected can be justified on the basis that they represent the most complex intelligence study because of the involvement of state and sub-state actors in a civil war environment which placed unique demands upon American intelligence capabilities.[43]

The Lebanese environment was part of a much broader regional theatre, namely, the Middle East and Persian Gulf, where U.S. intelligence capabilities were inferior to the task.[44] The case studies are among the best recent examples of the effects of terrorism and the media on U.S. foreign policy objectives as well as an assault against U.S. intelligence capabilities. The studies reveal how the Lebanon crisis posed context specific problems for U.S. intelligence capabilities that can be related to other terrorist cases. They also reveal the objectives and ambitions of individuals within the Reagan Administration which provides the key themes according to which the

---

[43] These observations were made by former DCI Admiral Stansfield Turner during an **interview** with the author in McLean, Virginia on July 23, 1995. This view was also confirmed by Noel Koch, a former counter-terrorist expert and planner at the Pentagon during the Reagan Administration, in a **telephone interview**, with the author on February 21, 1996.

[44] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, and Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit. This opinion was also expressed by John Walcott, editor of U.S. News & World Report in an **interview**, with the author in Washington DC, July 17, 1995

principles of crisis management and the intelligence process can be analysed.

Another reason why the above criteria has been selected for this study is the fact that sufficient time has elapsed since the occurrence of these events which has allowed for the release of primary source material and the publication of the memoirs of former serving officials.[45]

Research data was acquired from primary source material such as the Congressional Hearings on the Performance of the Intelligence Community Prior to the Embassy Bombings in Beirut (1983). Secondary sources were obtained from the memoirs of the key Reagan Administration officials who served in the intelligence community, the defence community and the NSC staff. After an examination of the primary and secondary source material, a list of interviewees was compiled.

A standard questionnaire was used in the interview process in order to provide the possibility for verification of the answers and facts between all the respondents.[46] All the questions were based within the context of the generic principles of crisis management and the intelligence process. While questioning as many of the key participants as possible has its merits, their subjectivity and personal agendas must be considered. As far as possible, subjectivity of the respondents has been eliminated by the author. The research included interviews with the following key former Reagan Administration members:

---

[45] In addition, seminal works on Beirut, such as Eric Hammel's *The Root*, Thomas Friedman's *From Jerusalem to Beirut* and the memoirs of many of the key individuals concerned, such as Ronald Reagan, Caspar Weinberger, George Schultz, Robert McFarlane, Geoffrey Kemp, Raymond Tanter and Howard Teicher have been published in the latter half of the past decade.

[46] See the Appendix (Page 329) for the questionnaire used during the interview process.

Ambassador Paul Bremmer - State Department responsible for International Terrorism

Mr Vincent Cannistraro - former CIA officer responsible for counter terrorism

Mr Graham Fuller - former NIO and NSC staff member

Mr Geoffrey Kemp Senior Director - NSC staff

Mr Noel Koch - former counter terrorist officer at the Pentagon

Mr Howard Teicher NSC staff member responsible for Middle East security policy

Two respondents still serving within the Pentagon and the State Department requested anonymity.

The following individuals who were not Reagan Administration officials, but who nevertheless served in government or were in a position to comment from their professional standing were interviewed:

Mr James Adams - Sunday Times Washington Bureau Chief

Lt.Cmdr. William Beck - former naval intelligence officer

Dr John Bondonella - Senior Researcher Rand Corporation

Professor John L Esposito - Islamic specialist - Georgetown University

Dr Daniel B Fox - Senior Operations Research Analyst Rand Corporation

Special Agent Robert Grace - FBI Crisis Management Unit

Mr David Martin - Chief Correspondent CBS

Brigadier Andrew Massey - former Commanding Officer British SAS

Admiral Stansfield Turner - former DCI

Mr Martin Walcott - Assistant Managing Editor - U.S. News & World Report

Requests for interviews from the following individuals were declined who all referred the author to their memoirs:

Mr Robert McFarlane
Mr George Schultz
Mr Caspar Weinberger

The author found that in general greater validity could be attributed to the former Reagan Administration officials on issues of substance. In other words, what happened and when, as opposed to judgmental issues of efficiency and effectiveness relating to the decision making and intelligence communities. This tendency should be understood from the point of view that the respondents were motivated by their objective to protect their reputations. Those interviewees who were not Administration officials were more judgmental to the point of being critical. Notwithstanding the fact that they were not directly involved their opinions and comments made a valuable contribution towards placing events into perspective. To the credit of Admiral Stansfield Turner, however, the author found that his comments were modest and straightforward. This despite the fact that he is one official who has reason to pass critical judgement against the Reagan Administration and the activities of William Casey. On the whole, the author found that the testimony of the journalists who covered the events proved to be more objective than those of the officials interviewed. Greater consistency was evident between the publications of the journalists and their replies to the questions that were put to them by the author during the interview process. The individuals interviewed are a reflection of the institutional interests that were involved, i.e. the NSC staff, the intelligence community and the media. The answers and opinions of the respondents were integrated with the analysis of the case studies that are explained below.

1.5 Methodological approach to the case studies

Chapter two of this study is an attempt to integrate the theory of intelligence with that of crisis management. In this regard the study is different from conventional approaches which tend to discuss each concept separately and then endeavour a comparative analysis. It approaches the theories of crisis management, intelligence and the producer - consumer dichotomy on the basis of three concentric circles, in the same order, interrelated and linked to one another through the function of communication. Beginning with the theory and principles of crisis management, the third principle which is the intelligence imperative, provides a platform from which the function of intelligence, as a subsystem of the decision making system, is examined. Using the intelligence cycle as a framework, the loci of intelligence analysis during crisis situations is examined towards determining the changes in the cycle and the intelligence production process. The presence of intelligence as an essential support instrument throughout the crisis management process is explained. In analysing the function of intelligence, the third theoretical domain, the producer - consumer relationship which embodies the traditionalist and activist approaches is discussed. The definition and function of intelligence, the intelligence cycle paradigm, the analysis process, the politicisation of intelligence - which includes a discussion of the traditionalist and activist approaches - embodying opportunity analysis, are examined. This forms the background to the relationship between intelligence analysts, National Intelligence Officers, and decision makers. Understanding this relationship is fundamental towards comprehending the institutional dynamics which are omni-present throughout the case studies which are discussed in the following three chapters.

The third chapter examines two incidents, notably the terrorist attacks against the U.S. Embassy and the Marine Battalion Landing Team Barracks in Beirut by Hizb'allah. Whereas the study will attempt to identify the reasons why the administration and intelligence community failed to detect or deter these attacks, the primary objective is to examine the manner in which the Reagan Administration responded to these crises when evaluated against the integrated theory of intelligence and the principles of crisis management. The study analyses the interaction of the intelligence community in the process, as well as the factors and constraints which influenced U.S. policy initiatives in Lebanon. Furthermore, the operational capabilities of the intelligence community in the Lebanese environment and the ethos that prevailed among the intelligence community and between it and key cabinet members of the administration are analysed. An attempt is made to identify the crisis management style and the intelligence management discipline which influenced the relationship during the crises.

In chapter four the analysis focuses upon the impact and consequences of another bombing attack by Hizb'allah against U.S. interests and the kidnapping of the CIA Chief of Station, William Buckley. The case study will attempt to provide an insight into the manner in which the administration conducted its threat perception in relation to its adversaries, notably Hizb'allah, Syria and Iran. This chapter examines the impact of Hizb'allah's strategy of bombing and kidnapping upon the administration and the latter's capacity to respond effectively to terrorism. While it maintains the focus on the relationships between the intelligence community and the policy makers, the chapter examines the role and influence of the behaviour of the Director of Central Intelligence and the National Security Advisor on the producer - consumer relationship. It looks at how intelligence is used as a support mechanism in the application of the principles of crisis management in relation to Hizb'allah's sustained

assault against the administration's objectives in Lebanon. The study concentrates upon how intelligence tasking and analysis was influenced by its consumers.

Chapter five analyses the crisis management performance of the Reagan Administration in relation to the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 and the linkage between this crisis and the overarching hostage crisis in Lebanon. The philosophy of terrorism and government response is examined. The chapter will explore the inherent tensions that exist between supporting the authorities counter terrorist initiatives and protecting intelligence assets and methods. The influence of the media which exposes tensions between government response and civil liberties is examined and the relationship between the media and the intelligence community will also be analysed. The media's behaviour during the hijacking of flight TWA 847 will be examined to determine which extraneous factors influence intelligence and crisis management.

Chapter six draws conclusions from the preceding evaluation of the Lebanon crises. The chapter will endeavour to contribute toward a more appropriate and practical theoretical framework for the analysis of the intelligence producer - consumer relationship. Finally, this study will make recommendations for further academic endeavour in relation to crisis management and the function of intelligence. Before analysing the case studies, however, it is important to arrive at an understanding of how the concept of intelligence and the producer - consumer relationship relates to crisis management. This is the essence of the following chapter.

Chapter 2

TOWARDS AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF INTELLIGENCE AND CRISIS MANAGEMENT

> The scholarly relevance of crisis analysis can best be considered in methodological terms. The analysis of crisis management and crisis decision making gives analysts the rare opportunity of bridging two different yet related gaps that continually plague the social sciences: the gap between theoretical and research perspectives of various disciplines (e.g. psychology, political science, organization theory), and the gap between real-life settings.[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical framework that will enable the reader to relate the empirical evidence from the case studies to the basic principles of crisis management and the intelligence process. Conventional approaches towards the theories of crisis management and intelligence have focused on each discipline in their unidimensional perspectives. No prior attempt has been made to integrate the two disciplines into a cogent theory. Similar to the concept of Russian 'Matryoshka Dolls', the contents of this chapter can be described as three conical circles of theory which attempt to explain how the principles of crisis management and intelligence analysis are interrelated and the role that communication plays in linking these concepts together. Starting with the outer theoretical cone which explains the principles of crisis management, the third principle, the intelligence imperative, leads us into the next cone which examines the function of intelligence during crises. The use of intelligence and its communication leads us into the realm of the producer-consumer relationship which takes the reader deeper and deeper until the kernel, the traditionalist - activist dichotomy, which is the core theoretical basis for this thesis, is exposed.

---

[1] See Uriel Rosenthal (et.al.), (1989), op.cit:, p.6

Whereas most of the above principles of crisis management are relatively straightforward, and discussed on a linear basis throughout this chapter, the intelligence imperative, is more complex and necessitates a deeper and more explorative discussion because it is prevalent in each of the principles of crisis management. Intelligence production and its management is a time consuming process that is juxtaposed to the basic tenet of crisis management which is to achieve a speedy solution. This creates an inherent tension between intelligence and crisis management. While the intelligence cycle is generally accepted by intelligence practitioners in the United States' civilian intelligence organisations such as the CIA and the military as the best theoretical representation of the intelligence process, academics differ over the utility of this approach.[2] The purpose of using the cycle in this thesis, however, is to provide a point of departure and a structured approach in explaining the intelligence process. By exploring the factors that influence the intelligence process and decision making dynamics such as, tasking and collection, interpretation and evaluation, politicisation, communication, bureaucratic and individual behaviour, as well as the dilemma that terrorism creates for intelligence, the relationship between the producer and consumer can be evaluated and understood. This creates a theoretical framework against which empirical data can be analysed towards understanding how the theory of the producer - consumer relationship, relates to reality.

[2] See A C Maurer, M D Tunstall and J M Keagle, (eds.), Intelligence, Policy and Process, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1985), and See Abram N Shulsky, (1991) op.cit:, and Harry Howe Ransom, Central Intelligence and National Security, (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1958), pp.132-142 and Arthur S Hulnick, "The Intelligence Producer - Policy Consumer Linkage: A Theoretical Approach," Intelligence and National Security, (May 1986)

2.1 Introduction

> A crisis situation threatens high-priority goals of the decision-making unit, restricts the amount of time available for response before the decision is transformed and surprises the members of the decision-making unit by its occurrence.[3]

This thesis departs from the conventional wisdom in that it attempts to transcend the narrow focus of crises as advocated by Bell, Alexander, Hermann and Lagadec. These conventional theorists have limited their focus to the study of military and political crises.[4] They regard the ultimate objective in crisis management as war avoidance. Rosenthal, however, has made a more diversified contribution to the subject by examining a wide range of case studies on crisis management during natural and man-made disasters.[5] Although the contemporary literature on crisis management focuses upon decision making pathologies and the problems of decentralised as opposed to centralised management, scant attention has been focused upon the role of intelligence, apart from acknowledging it is a prerequisite in decision making.[6] The literature, however, reflects a preoccupation with diplomacy and war psychosis, influenced by the Cold War era and international conflict management.[7] As such it falls far short of contributing to contemporary crises of low intensity

---

[3] Charles F. Hermann, (1972), op.cit:, p.13

[4] See Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:, and Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, and Charles F. Hermann (1972), op.cit:, and Patrick Lagadec, Preventing Chaos in a Crisis: Strategies For Prevention, Control and Damage Limitation, (London, McGraw-Hill, 1993), op.cit.

[5] Uriel Rosenthal, (et.al), (1989), op.cit:

[6] For a brief discussion on intelligence in crisis management, see Stan A Taylor and Theodore J Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander L George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.395-409

[7] For a comprehensive overview of the literature and academic debates on crisis management and decision making theory, see James E Dougherty and Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr. (1981), op.cit:, pp. 468-503. For a wider perspective on the various approaches to crises, see Michael Brecher, "Towards a Theory of International Crisis Behaviour," International Studies Quarterly, Vol.21, (March 1977), pp.39-40

conflict and terrorism. This is a significant shortcoming because the latter exceed those crisis situations which could lead to all out war.[8] The situations that are being alluded to in this thesis focus upon crises that have been precipitated by acts of terrorism, namely, bombings, kidnapping, hijacking, hostage taking and barricades. These are incidents that have affected foreign policy initiatives and the intelligence capabilities of the United States of America. They have been short duration, high impact, emergency situations. These are crises which tend to dominate the attention and resources of most governments compelling them to respond on an hour by hour and day to day basis. In order to understand how these situations exert pressure upon government, security and intelligence organisations, it is necessary to examine the constituent elements of a crisis.

An emergency situation is described as a crisis by the affected party who experiences or perceives a set of circumstances where the impact or potential impact of that situation is deemed to have a major and threatening effect upon core values and interests.[9] The outcome has the potential to exert a tremendous (usually negative) impact on the lives of those affected. The advent of the situation disrupts the routine activities and functioning of the organisation or individuals concerned.

Crises are situations which invoke the need for an immediate response and for the dedication of extraordinary resources.[10] Crises

---

[8] According to Professor Yonah Alexander, there have been a total of 64, 319 recorded incidents of *domestic and international* terrorist incidents between 1970 and July 1995. See the testimony by Yonah Alexander, "Algerian Terrorism: Some National, Regional and Global Perspectives," prepared statement before the House Committee on Interantional Relations, Sub-committee on Africa, (Federal News Service, October 11, 1995). The Rand / St Andrews Data Base on recorded incidents of international terrorism, lists a total of 8,339 *international incidents* between 1970 and 1994.

[9] For an overview of the generic characteristics of a crisis, see Charles F Hermann, "International Crisis as a Situational Variable," in James N Rosenau, (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, revised edition, (New York, The Free Press, 1969), pp.43-44 and Michael Brecher, "Toward a Theory of International Crisis Behaviour," International Studies Quarterly, No.21, (March 1977), pp.43-44

[10] These comments pertaining to the characteristics of crises were made by Robert Grace, FBI Special Agent in Charge of the Crisis Management Unit, FBI Academy, Quantico

precipitate a convergence of events which produce new and unknown circumstances. This generates a climate of uncertainty and subsequent feeling that control over events and circumstances has diminished.[11] For bureaucracies and management structures, a crisis introduces the need for critical decision-making under the adverse conditions of limited time, incomplete intelligence and general uncertainty.[12] An awareness that a crisis situation exists usually leads to an immediate response by the bureaucracy. This generally results in the rapid ad-hoc construction of extraordinary organisational structures, the *task-force* phenomenon, to deal with the situation.[13] Because crises are usually unexpected, context specific intelligence is in short supply. This is because in most instances the relevant information is not readily available in neatly parcelled packages which are tailored to suit the crisis characteristics.[14] To achieve this the information must be identified, assimilated and then re-interpreted and presented within the context of the situation and its circumstances. The unavailability of analytical expertise at short notice presents problems. The reason for this can be attributed to the fact that in most crisis situations, the pressure of time inhibits the appointment of an intelligence analyst to the crisis management team. The absence of an intelligence representative within the decision making apparatus detracts from communication between the

---

Bay, Maryland, in an **interview** with the author on July 13, 1995

[11] For an account of the impact of stress upon decision makers, see Jerrold Post, "The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on Policy Makers," in Alexander George, (ed.), (1991), op.cit:, pp.471-496

[12] See Uriel Rosenthal, (et.al.), "The Bureau-Politics of Crisis Management," Public Administration, Vol. 69, (Summer 1991), p.212

[13] For an account of the composition of crisis task forces within the US State Department, see Howard H. Lentner, "The Concept of Crisis as Viewed by the United States Department of State," in International Crises, and Charles F.Hermann, (ed.), (1972), op.cit:, pp.113-115

[14] Observation made by Admiral Stansfield Turner (retired), former Director of Central Intelligence in an **interview** with the author in McLean Virginia, July 23, 1995 and Noel Koch, a former Pentagon Counter-Terrorist Officer during the Reagan Administration, in a **telephone interview**, with the author on March, 7, 1996.

intelligence producer and consumer. The composition of such organisational anomalies can have a direct and detrimental effect on tasking, analysis and communication of intelligence during emergencies, often with adverse consequences.[15]

The anxiety is exacerbated by the inadequate availability of information and introduces increased stress,[16] together with latent and new tensions among the key actors as they attempt to comprehend and adjust to the dynamics of the situation and regain control.[17] All this usually takes place against limited time.[18] Affected organisations and individuals experience some or all of the above characteristics while under pressure to recover from the situation with all, or as many as possible, of their interests intact. The fundamental objective behind crisis management is to preserve one's interests as far as possible through the application of coercion and conciliation in such a manner as to elicit the maximum concessions from the adversary.[19]

The term *crisis management* is much of a misnomer. It creates the perception that crises can be managed and even manipulated to one's advantage under favourable circumstances.[20] This approach to

---

[15] This observation has been made by Ray Adams, Director Risk Management, Kroll Associates, Savile Row, London, during an **interview** with the author on May 5, 1995. The same sentiments were expressed by Brigadier Andrew Massey, Director Defence Systems Limited, Buckingham Gate, London, during an **interview** with the author on May 5, 1995. This was also confirmed by Eric M Westropp, Director, Control Risks, London, in an **interview** with the author on May 5, 1995

[16] For the effects of stress and executive fatigue see Theodore H White, "Weinberger on the Ramparts," The New York Times Magazine, February 6, 1983, p.24

[17] See the explanation given by Anthony Wiener and Herman Kahn in Charles F Hermann, (ed.), (1972), op.cit:. p.21

[18] See the testimony of Joseph S Nye Jr, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

[19] See Phil Williams, Crisis Management: Confrontation and Diplomacy in the Nuclear Age, (New York, Wiley, 1972), p.30

[20] Coral Bell argues that the term crisis management implies a rational, dispassionate, calculated and well considered activity which is conducted with judgement, even perhaps, at a leisurely pace, which includes consideration of short and long term interests. In fact crisis response is not like that at all. It is usually improvised action using extraordinary resources and conducted under immense pressure and constraints of time and in a fog of ambiguity and insecurity. See Coral Bell, "Decision Making by Governments in Crisis Situations", in Daniel

crises originated during the Cold War and from the American perspective, the concept grew that coercive bargaining between adversaries, short of all out war, was possible under managed conditions. This belief was reinforced by the negotiated outcome of the Cuban Missile Crisis and was reflected in the well-known statement made by Robert McNamara at that time: "...[T]here is no longer any such thing as strategy, only crisis management".[21]

During the Cold War era, this concept of crisis management as a means of conflict resolution became entrenched and dominated the literature and academic approaches to the subject.[22] It was reinforced by events where the combination of diplomacy, military posturing and economic incentives succeeded in resolving potential conflict situations between the superpowers and their allies, such as the Yom Kippur War and the success of Henry Kissinger's shuttle-diplomacy.[23] This perception grew stronger with the passage of time. Negotiation, mediation and arbitration, combined with economic and trade incentives, as well as the sale of military equipment all contributed to the peace accord signed between Israel and Egypt at Camp David in 1979.[24] This reinforced the popular perception that crises could be successfully managed and was a major factor which motivated the Reagan Administration's political objectives in the Middle East.[25]

Frei, (ed.), (1978), op.cit:, p.51

[21] See Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:, p.2

[22] For an overview and critique of the academic literature on crisis management see Raymond Tanter, "Crisis Management: A Critical Review of the Academic Literature," Jerusalem Journal of International Relations, Vol.1, No.1, (Fall 1975), pp.71-101

[23] See Henry Kissinger, The White House Years, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979)

[24] George Schultz, Turmoil and Triumph, My Years As Secretary Of State, (New York, Macmillan,1993), p.85

[25] Ibid.

2. Crisis management principles

Because crisis management implies crisis response, it is implicit that a formal structured approach and strategy must be adopted towards controlling an emergency or threatening situation.[26] The following principles of crisis management used in this theory provide that structure and are widely recognised by leading academics and experts in the field.[27] While the author does not make the claim that these principles are consciously applied by decision makers in the U.S. or any other government for that matter to crisis situations, they nevertheless provide a standard format of expected behaviour against which the response of the Reagan Administration to the crises in Lebanon can be evaluated.

2.1 The limitation of objectives.

The first principle holds that in order to avoid an unnecessary escalation in the crisis and to maximise one's chances for achieving a successful outcome of the situation, the parties involved in the crisis must limit their objectives. [28] This rule is naturally governed by the fact that any increase in the intensity of the pursuit of political objectives at the expense of an adversary will be proportional to the increased will and determination of the adversary to resist.[29]

---

[26] See Thomas Schelling, The Strategy of Conflict, (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1960) and Paul Diesing, Reason in Society: Five Types of Decisions and Their Social Conditions, (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1962) and Robert A Young, "Perspectives on International Crisis," International Studies Quarterly, Vol.21.,(March 1977), p.8 and Graham T Allison, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, (Boston, Little Brown, 1971), p.245

[27] See Alexander L George (ed.), (1991), op.cit:, also Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:, and Charles F. Hermann, (ed.), (1972), op.cit:, and Patrick Lagadec, Preventing Chaos in a Crisis, (London, McGraw Hill, 1993)

[28] Alexander George, (ed.), (1991), op.cit:, pp.23-26

[29] Oran Young, The Politics of Force: Bargaining During International Crisis, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press,1968), pp.6-15

Adopting this attitude is necessary in order to arrive at a realistic settlement to the crisis. In the pursuit of this objective, however, knowledge of the determination of the adversary is essential towards measuring resistance. Intelligence therefore plays a vital role towards obtaining information concerning the adversary's capabilities and intentions. Determining an enemy's capabilities is usually easier than ascertaining his intentions. Whereas capabilities are normally quantifiable data such as military and economic power, the measurement of intentions is much harder and is essentially an intellectual exercise that is fraught with the calculation of intangibles.[30] The need for intelligence becomes apparent as early as this first principle. Intelligence is instrumental in carrying out an appraisal of the resistance to one's objectives. This introduces the norm that decision making should be based upon a reflection of reality.[31] Therefore policy making should be based upon the sum of one's capabilities, constraints and limitations compared to the same criteria of the adversary that intelligence reveals. The averse side of this argument is the notion that intelligence serves as a product that can be used to support preconceived policy objectives and initiatives. Unfortunately in reality, it is the latter part of this intelligence-policy dichotomy that tends to be practised.

---

[30] See A C Maurer, M D Tunstall and J M Keagle, (1985), op.cit:, pp.43-56. also A Shlaim, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Yom Kippur War," World Politics, Vol.28, No.3, (April 1976), pp.349 & 350. Also Christopher Andrew, "Washington and the Intelligence Services," International Affairs, Vol.53, No.3, July 1977, pp.395. See also Mark W Lowenthal, "The Burdensome Concept of Failure," in Maurer, Tunstall & Keagel, (1985), op.cit:, p.30

[31] See James E Dougherty, Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr. (1981), op.cit:, pp.468-480 and Alexander George, "The Case for Multiple Advocacy in Making Foreign Policy," American Political Science Review, LXVI, (September 1972), pp.751-785. See also Joseph Frankel, The Making of Foreign Policy: An Analysis of Decision-Making, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1963), p.4 For a classical appraisal, see Harold Lasswell, The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis, (College Park, University of Maryland Press, 1956).

2.2.2 Limiting the means in pursuit of objectives

> Diplomats, on the other hand, will look for the line in the sand that leaves all sides least dissatisfied. They are likely to see force - or its threat - as a means for achieving a precise negotiating purpose, and will want to calibrate its use.[32]

The second principle maintains that in order to prevent any escalation in the crisis tension level, the parties concerned must exercise restraint in the application of instruments of force and coercion.[33] Linked to the principle of limiting one's objectives, is the rule that the means employed to secure those objectives should not exceed the minimum amount that is required.[34] In those situations where force is required to achieve an objective, the means employed in the pursuit of that objective should be limited to the least amount of force that is necessary. This is based on the premise that there is always a cost versus benefit ratio where the use of unnecessary force can undermine the legitimacy and moral standing of the actor who applies force. The rationale behind this argument is that excessive force encourages greater resistance from the adversary. This may result in progressive increments in force with the inherent danger that excessive use thereof undermines legitimacy and may invoke public and international condemnation.[35] This rule recognises the age old principle of conflict advocated by Sun Tzu. He wrote that

---

[32] Extract from the text of a speech made by the USUN Ambassador Madeline Albright to the NATO Conference, Tuesday, April, 30, 1996, as distributed by the United States Information Service, Embassy of the United States of America, London (April 30, 1996) p.4

[33] See Magnus Ranstorp, Radical Shi'ism In Lebanon: Western Governments Crisis Management Techniques In Dealing With Hostage Incidents, 1982 - 1992, (Ph.D. Thesis, St Andrews, University of St Andrews, 1994), p.31

[34] See Brian M Jenkins, "The U.S. Response to Terrorism: A Policy Dilemma," TVI Journal, (1985), p.34 and Stephen G Walker, "Comparing Two Studies of Crisis Bargaining: Confrontation, Coercion and Reciprocity," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol.26, No.4, (December 1982), pp.571-91 and Alexander George, "Strategies for Crisis Management," in Alexander George, (ed.), (1991), op.cit:, pp.377-394

[35] See Thomas C Shelling, Controlled Response and Strategic Warfare, (London, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi paper No.19, June 1965) and Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, p.24

it is crucial in any conflict situation to provide one's adversary with a means of dignified retreat without losing face, so that the resolution of the crisis can be achieved without excessive cost.[36]

This principle, however, can take on an inverse dimension. In some instances, the means available to an actor to pursue its objectives are severely limited. Where there is an absence of non-military instruments of statecraft as an alternative method of coercion, adherence to this principle becomes extremely difficult. The situation is also rendered much more complex for the following reasons. From a unilateral (single state actor) perspective competing individual and bureaucratic interests can complicate the synchronisation of instruments and techniques as executive authorities argue over policy, jurisdiction, legitimacy and finite resources. Applying this principle becomes even more difficult, however, when more than one state actor is involved as competing national interests are introduced.[37]

The implications of this principle for the function of intelligence are to be found in the role that intelligence is expected to play. As a support mechanism, intelligence assists in the objective of limiting force by communicating an appraisal of the dynamics of the environment and the vulnerability of the adversary to the levels of force and coercion that are being applied. Intelligence feedback enables crisis managers to evaluate the effects that the application of instruments of coercion have had on the adversary and to ascertain whether those levels of force have been successful, inadequate or excessive. According to Robertson: "It [intelligence] can assist in the management of crisis situations, the equivalent of battlefield as opposed to estimative intelligence[38] Not only does intelligence

---

[36] See Sun Tzu, The Art of War, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, Translated by Samuel Griffith, 1971), pp.109-110

[37] This problem is examined and dealt with in the case study on the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in Chapter 5

[38] See Ken Robertson, "Intelligence Terrorism and Civil Liberties," in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair Stewart, (eds.), (1989), op.cit:, pp.555

support the use of force, but it is essential for making decisions over when to use force.

Exercising restraint in the use of force necessitates an appreciation of the decision maker's policy objectives and the expected response of the public to the use of force by the intelligence producer. This calls for a closer relationship between decision makers and intelligence producers, which is achieved when intelligence producers play a more active role and stay attuned to the political objectives of the decision makers. Although the media provide a barometer on the authorities standing in relation to public opinion, intelligence acts as a source of information in this regard by providing feedback. As Robertson argues: "Information can guide decisions concerning the political reforms which may isolate or discourage the terrorist."[39] This aspect is explained in greater detail in the intelligence imperative below.

2.2.3 The intelligence imperative

The third principle makes the case for the use of intelligence as a support mechanism that increases the actors' abilities to comprehend the complexities of the situation and to make decisions. The fundamental objective in crisis management is to exercise damage limitation thereby preserving one's interests intact.[40] This implies that the party on the defensive seeks to restore the situation to the status ante. This is logical given the fact that a crisis would normally only be declared once the status ante has been disturbed. A secondary goal is to convert a potentially dangerous and detrimental situation into an

---

[39] Ibid.

[40] See Ian Janis, Crucial Decisions: Leadership in Policymaking and Crisis Management, (New York, The Free Press, 1989) and Clive C Aston, A Contemporary Crisis: Political Hostage-Taking and the Experience of Western Europe, (London, Greenwood Press,1982), p.137

advantage.[41] It is precisely this approach, however, which gives rise to the producer - consumer dichotomy and raises the question over exactly how the intelligence analyst/manager should present the facts to the consumer and play a part in emphasising opportunities that may exist without directly influencing policy decisions. This relationship, however, is largely dependent upon communication between the producer and consumer. It is the function of intelligence to assist the decision maker by presenting a range of options in support of policy predilection. These options, however, must be based on plausible possibilities given the reflection of reality and according to the constraints posed by the environment. It is the responsibility of the intelligence community to conduct an analysis of that environment and integrate its findings with the proposed policy and then to communicate this to the decision makers. Although intelligence has been identified as one of the generic crisis management principles, it cannot be discussed in isolation. The intelligence process is a principle that is applicable throughout the crisis management effort which becomes evident as we examine its function in relation to the remaining principles of crisis management below.

2.2.4 Contingency planning and capabilities

The fourth principle is the establishment of an adequate crisis management capability and includes the necessity for contingency planning.[42] This principle encourages actors to create crisis contingency capabilities towards eliminating routine problems within

---

[41] See William L Waugh Jr., "Integrating the Policy Models of Terrorism and Emergency Management," Policy Studies Review, Vol.6, No.1, (August 1986), pp.287-301 and Uriel Rosenthal and B Pijnenburg, (eds.), "Special Issue on Multiple Scenarios for Crisis Management and Decision Making," International Journal of Contemporary Crises, Vol.14, No.4, (December 1990).

[42] See Uriel Rosenthal, (et.al.), (1989), op.cit:, pp.3-33

the bureaucracy thereby decreasing the time required for the transition from normal to crisis mode and as an essential step in conducting scenario forecasting and the identification of potential crisis situations. Standard FBI crisis management doctrine holds that the key to successful crisis management lies in the ability of the crisis manager to enable the response units to make the transition from normal operating conditions to crisis mode, where the authorities are equipped and in position to cope with all the requirements that the situation may demand. A speedy transition from normal to crisis state enables the crisis manager to focus on the unique aspects of the situation instead of wasting time dealing with routine organisation problems.[43] As an integral part of creating a response mechanism to deal with envisaged situations, contingency planning is useful at the strategic policy making and implementation levels of government as well as at the tactical response levels of the executive. At the strategic level, contingency planning which involves war-game theory and scenario forecasting and planning, can help to provide institutional memory and preparedness for those decision makers who participate.[44] At the tactical response level, the creation of crisis response capabilities can reveal and introduce institutional tensions and problems of cross-compatibility between organisations that may be tasked with providing support and logistics.[45] Contingency

---

[43] This was explained by Robert Grace, FBI Special Agent in Charge of the Crisis Management Unit, FBI Academy, Quantico Bay, Maryland, during an **interview,** with the author on July 13, 1995

[44] For an insight into the use of war games as an aid to contingency planning see James Dougherty and Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, (1981), op.cit:, pp.531-536. See also Anatol Rapoport, "The Role of Game Theory in Uncovering Non-Strategic Principles of Decision," in Andre Mensch, Theory of Games: Techniques and Applications, (London, St Paul's House, English Universities Press Ltd.,1966), pp.410-431 and Jeffrey S Banks, "Crisis Bargaining," in Banks, Signalling Games in Political Science, (London, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1991), pp.71-85 and Martin Shubik, "The Uses of Game Theory," in James C Charlesworth, (ed.), Contemporary Political Analysis, (New York, The Free Press, 1967), pp.247-249. See also Harvey Averch and M Lavin, Simulation of Decisionmaking in Crises: Three Manual Gaming Experiments, (Santa Monica, Rand Report, RM-4202-PR, August 1964). Also Melvin Dresler, Games of Strategy: Theory and Applications, (New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1967) and Norman C Dalkey, "Simulation," in E S Quade and W I Boucher, Systems Analysis and Policy Planning: Applications in Defence, (New York, Elsevier, 1977), pp.241-254

[45] Observations made by Robert Grace, FBI Special Agent in Charge of the Crisis Management Unit, FBI Academy, Quantico Bay, Maryland, during an **interview,** with the

planning provides an opportunity to identify potential practical problems that may arise between security organisations in communication, command and control arrangements and with equipment incompatibility.[46] It helps towards identifying those routine issues that contribute towards most crisis complexities and with bureaucratic and turf problems which can be identified and resolved beforehand. One of the most important contributions of this principle, however, is towards intelligence tasking. Speculation pertaining to possible crisis scenarios helps to identify those circumstances and areas where there may be intelligence shortcomings.[47] Intelligence requirements and inputs can be identified and fed into the intelligence cycle beforehand. This can ensure that basic intelligence is available on specific topics, organisations or individuals, which may compliment current intelligence during actual crisis situations.[48]

According to Taylor and Ralston, most governments look to their intelligence services to provide them with pre-crisis information on the activities of friends and enemies.[49] Whereas the importance of intelligence participation in scenario planning may be recognised, in a world of diminishing resources and budgets very little is done to include intelligence analysts or officers in contingency planning. Where such participation does occur, however, contingency planning encourages closer communication between decision makers and the

---

author on July 13, 1995

[46] Ibid.

[47] These comments were made by Brigadier Andrew Massey, former SAS Commander in an **interview**, with the author on May 5, 1995, Buckingham Gate, London.

[48] For an overview of preferences, knowledge and crisis response decision making in game theory, see Pierre Allan and Christian Schmidt, Game Theory and International Relations, (Aldershot, England, Edward Elgar Publishing, Ltd., 1994), pp.97-121. See also J Harsanyi, "Games with Incomplete Information Played by "Bayesian Players," Management Science, (1967), Vol.14. Also Avenhaus, Rudnianski and Karkar (eds.), Decision Making Analytical Support and Crisis Management, (Heidelberg, Springer Verlag, 1991)

[49] See Stan A Taylor and Theodore J Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander L George, (1991), op.cit:, p.396 and Charles C Cogan, "Intelligence and Crisis Management: The Importance of the Pre-Crisis," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.9, No.4, (October 1994), pp.633-650

intelligence community. Communication is necessary for the efficient distribution of intelligence between the intelligence community and decision makers during crises.[50] Not only is communication essential towards building a closer relationship between intelligence producer and consumers, it is also vitally important to ensure that intentions are clearly understood by the adversary, the public and one's allies during a crisis.

2.2.5 Communication

The fifth principle emphasises the importance of communication in crisis management. Crisis management style and the nature of the producer - consumer relationship plays an important role in determining how communication is managed. The conventional wisdom holds that there are two fundamental approaches to crisis management. These are the *monocentrist* and the *polycentrist* approaches and are embodied in the study of bureaucracies.[51] They represent conflicting arguments towards the understanding of the bureaucratic dynamics of political administrations when involved in crisis management.

The monocentrist approach is based on the argument that the management and response to crisis situations is concentrated in the hands of a central authority. This is deemed necessary in order to ensure a unified and coordinated response, communication and the effective utilisation of resources. It dictates that during crises, the management structure that is responsible for responding will be unaffected by parochial interests and that the existence of a common threat will serve as a cohesive factor, creating a unified approach, by

---

[50] Refer to the diagram of the intelligence cycle further on in the chapter.

[51] For more details see Uriel Rosenthal, (et al.), "The Bureau-Politics of Crisis Management," Public Administration, The Royal Institute for Public Administration, London, Vol.69, (Summer 1991), p.212

the individuals and organisations involved. Between the individual and the organisation as a whole, there are teams, who play a critical role in crisis management. Groups contribute towards crisis management through their wider diversity of skills and experience and do not become entrapped by the perceptions, bias and emotional responses of a single individual. Despite these advantages, however, it is nevertheless important to examine the pitfalls that are inherent in the manner in which they function. The opposite risk to the shortcomings in the individual approach is the potential for the group to become pathologically close-minded. This tendency in which groups strive for unanimity and cohesiveness was identified and called *groupthink* by Irving Janis.[52]

The monocentrist approach holds that during crises power is concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, namely the crisis management team. Where the crisis management team is a closed group displaying monocentrist characteristics, the danger of acute group cohesiveness may result in groupthink. Janis argues that this tendency is likely to occur among high-ranking officials who form a cohesive unit.[53] When the group is faced with a crisis situation they are influenced by the heightened sense of responsibility, mutual confidence, and intra-group support which reinforces their perception of belonging to an elite in-group.[54] The crisis generates a sense of isolation and the group develops a characteristic of its own. Janis suggests that this cohesive metamorphosis leads to a deterioration of both cognitive powers and moral sensibility. These same tendencies prevalent in the monocentrist approach undermines the importance attached to the role of intelligence in crises. The group ego operates

[52] For an overview on the concept of groupthink see Irvin Janis, Groupthink - Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos, (Boston, Houghton-Mifflin, 1982), p.13

[53] Ibid.

[54] For an explanation of this tendency and its effects in government environments, see Paul Hart, Groupthink in Government: A Study of Small Groups and Policy Failure, (Leiden, University of Leiden, The Netherlands, 1990)

at the exclusion of the out-groups and intelligence analysis undergoes a fundamental shift from the domain of the intelligence community to that of the crisis management team. This can be a precarious situation when none of the CMT are competent analysts or experts in the field which dominates the crisis context.

The crucial aspect of communicating intelligence is to get the consumer to not only listen to what the intelligence community is reporting, but to act in accordance with the facts and information.[55] The effectiveness of intelligence analysis is measured by: "...the standard with which it provides explicitly actionable analysis without prescribing general policy guidelines."[56] This is the basis of the activist approach to the producer - consumer relationship and is grounded in the argument that good intelligence does not necessarily guarantee sound decisions.[57] In order to ensure that the maximum advantage is obtained from intelligence, the producer must influence the consumer to embark upon a course of action that is evident based on the analysis. Hulnick argues that the most effective way to ensure that the consumer not only comprehends the intelligence content but also acts upon it is through personal contact.[58] This implies that preferably the analyst, or a senior intelligence officer,

---

[55] See Arthur S Hulnick and Deborah Brammer, "The Impact of Intelligence on the Policy Review and Decision Process: Part One, Findings," Intelligence Monograph (Washington D.C., Centre for the Study of Intelligence, CIA, January 1980) and Ariel Levite, Intelligence and Strategic Surprise, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1987) See also Robert S Sinclair, Thinking and Writing: Cognitive Science and the Directorate of Intelligence, (Washington D.C., Centre for the Study of Intelligence, CIA, 1984) Also Loch K Johnson, "Strategic Intelligence: An American Perspective," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.3, No.3, p.303

[56] See Jack Davis, "The Challenge of Opportunity Analysis," Intelligence Monograph, (Washington D.C., Centre for the Study of Intelligence, CIA, July 1992), p.7 And Wilmoore Kendall, "Strategic Intelligence," World Politics, Vol.1, No.4, (July 1949) Kendall sees the intelligence function as helping the policy maker 'influence' the course of events by helping them to understand the operative factors which can have an impact.

[57] See Robert David Steele, "A Critical Evaluation of U.S. National Intelligence Capabilities," IJIC, Vol.6, No.2, pp.183-191 and Eliot A Cohen and John Gooch, Military Misfortunes: The Anatomy of Failure in War, (New York, The Free Press, 1990), pp.128-131. See also Michael I Handel, Leaders and Intelligence, (London, Frank Cass and Co., 1989), pp.26-27

[58] See Arthur S Hulnick, (May 1986), op.cit:, p.228

should be present when the analysis is delivered or conveyed to the policy maker. It does not imply that the intelligence officer or analyst should actively participate in the policy debate, but simply that he or she is on hand to place the intelligence product into perspective and to explain any ambiguities that may be arise through faulty interpretation by the consumer.

In crisis situations where the monocentrist approach prevails, communicating intelligence and applying an activist approach will only succeed if the analysis reflects the thinking of the individual or members of the decision making team. In circumstances where the analyst or intelligence manager is not included in the inner circle, the likelihood of analysis influencing the decision making process is weaker than in a polycentrist environment where the decision making team is more receptive to external input.

In contrast, the Polycentrist approach recognises the interaction of competing and conflicting actors within government bureaucracies and encourages competition as a means of ensuring a healthy check and balance against the potential concentration of decision making power. This approach reduces the dangers of groupthink. For the intelligence community, however, this aspect increases competition and makes the activist approach harder to implement. The negative aspects of the polycentrist approach, however, is the danger that where conflicting opinions prevail, consensus may not be reached. Consequently decisions may be delayed or this may result in incohesive policy. Communication may become fragmented with the result that all of this may be reflected by contradictory statements. This can undermine the government's credibility in the eyes of its public and allies and may disclose its vulnerabilities and result in confusion on the part of the adversary. Finally, communication is a necessary element to convey the authorities' policy and response to their adversary, public and allies and is crucial towards maintaining its credibility and establishing legitimacy for its actions. The Reagan

Administration reflected the characteristics of both the monocentrist and polycentrist approaches. Accordingly the case studies are relevant to this study because they contribute towards understanding the role and significance that communication plays in crisis management and the intelligence relationship.

2.2.6 Legitimacy

Directly related to the above principle is the need to acquire and maintain legitimacy for crisis response initiatives. This rule holds that in responding to all crisis situations, the authorities must endeavour to acquire support and understanding for their actions and response strategies from the public[59] and the international community.[60] The political support of allies is crucial for the co-ordination and implementation of any course of action so that tension and cross-purpose activities can be avoided.[61] The principle of legitimacy is interrelated with the principle of limiting the means of force that is necessary to secure an objective. By limiting force to the minimum amount that is necessary, the levels of political and psychological costs involved can be reduced which has a positive effect upon popular support and legitimacy. According to Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger, "...the use of force must be timely, appropriate, have public support, a high probability of success and should only be used as a last resort."[62] Weinberger's opinion was in conflict with

---

[59] See Ronald D Crelinsten and Alex P Schmidt, "Western Responses to Terrorism: A Twenty - Five Year Balance Sheet," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, (Winter 1992), pp.322-330

[60] See Hanspeter Neuhold, "Principles and Implementation of Crisis Management: Lessons from the Past," in Daniel Frei, (ed.), (1978), op.cit:, pp.8-9

[61] See Paul Wilkinson, "Proposals for Government and International Responses to Terrorism," in Wilkinson, (ed.), British Perspectives on Terrorism, (London, Allen & Unwin, 1981).

[62] See Brian Jenkins, "The U.S. Response to Terrorism: A Policy Dilemma," TVI Journal, (1985), p.34

George Schultz, who was a firm believer in the use of force to back up diplomacy. This disagreement even extended to the implementation of NSDD.138. According to Stansfield Turner,

> This strong disagreement between two Cabinet officers revealed how deeply divided the Reagan Administration was on this issue. The President tried to waffle when first asked whether he agreed with Schultz on the occasional necessity for killing innocents, but ended up directly contradicting his Secretary of State. During a campaign debate with Walter Mondale he said, "We want to retaliate, but only if we can put our finger on the people responsible and not endanger the lives of innocent civilians."[63]

Adhering to this principle cannot be achieved in the absence of a thorough understanding and appreciation of the target population's values and interests. Intelligence contributes towards gathering and evaluating this information for the policy maker. This is where the concepts of communication and feedback between the intelligence community and the consumer, in this instance the crisis management team, are vital. Nowhere is this more crucial than in the response of the authorities to terrorism and the problem of collateral damage.

2.2.6.1 **The dilemma of terrorism for intelligence and crisis management**

Terrorism revolves around the struggle for legitimacy. It is the quest for recognition, approval and support of the terrorist organisation in the eyes of the target population as an opponent against an "illegitimate government". Conversely it is a struggle by the incumbent authority against an "illegitimate organisation", that uses unlawful, selective and indiscriminate violence to achieve its objectives. Adams states that, "...legitimacy is the Holy Grail of

[63] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.178-179

terrorism."[64] Within democracies, the inability of the government to provide total security for its inhabitants without infringing upon the freedom that its citizens enjoy, challenges its legitimacy.[65] The underlying objective of terrorism, irrespective of the tactics involved, is similar to that of guerrilla warfare in that the aim is to alienate the government from its electorate.[66] Thus terrorism strives to drive a wedge between the incumbent authority and the target population so that its perpetrators can influence the target to do their will.[67] The following definition by James and Goldstaub explains this concept as follows:

> Terrorism is the systematic threat or use of violence by a state or a non-state actor, with the intention of inspiring fear, influencing government or corporate policy, undermining public confidence, or promoting unrest, as a part of a plan to impose the perspectives held by the terrorists on society.[68]

Terrorism should also be understood and appreciated as a form of political communication employed as a means of gaining and influencing political behaviour and political outcomes by groups that consider themselves to be otherwise powerless or disenfranchised.[69]

---

[64] See James Adams, The Financing of Terror (London, New English Library, 1986), p.172

[65] See J Goldberg, "The Terrorist Threat to Corporations", in George Roukis, (eds.), (1990), op.cit:, p.183

[66] See Yehezkel Dror, "Challenge to the Democratic Capacity to Govern," in Martha Crenshaw, (ed.), Terrorism, Legitimacy and Power, (Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyen University Press, 1983).

[67] Guerrilla Warfare is defined as, "...a method of waging internal war by unorthodox methods for the control of authority over the population by breaking the link between the incumbent administration and the people at large." See Geoffrey Fairbairn, Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare, (Middlesex, Penguin Books, 1974) and Sam Sarkesian, Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare, (Chicago, Precedent Publishing, 1975), pp.4-5

[68] Paul James, and J Goldstaub, "Terrorism and the Breakdown of International Order: The Corporate Dimension", Conflict Quarterly, Summer 1988, p71

[69] See Ted Gurr, "The Objectives of Political Terrorism," in Michael Stohl, (ed.), The Politics of Terrorism, (New York, Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1979), pp.36-45 and Lawrence Freedman, Terrorism and International Order, (London, Routledge and Kegan Park, 1986), Chapter 5: "Terrorism and Strategy," pp.56-76

Their political objectives range from changing policy to changing the polity.[70] It can be argued therefore that terrorism is the continuation of politics by other, albeit violent, means. Goldberg argues that although terrorism has not been the cause of the loss of large numbers of lives,[71] it is the use of premeditated violence coupled with the sensationalism of the act itself - indiscriminate violence - that elevates counter-terrorism to high priority and captures international attention.[72] Similarly, James and Goldstaub argue that whereas terrorism has been accountable for a smaller number of deaths than natural and man-made accidents and disasters, it is the exaggerated impact and high level of publicity that generates an unprecedented level of attention and fear among the target population, thereby empowering its perpetrators.[73] The above theory is applicable to international terrorism. The terrorist attacks against the U.S. embassies, the Marine barracks and the hostage crisis in Beirut all succeeded in exposing the Reagan Administration's vulnerability. Not only did these attacks succeed in alienating the government from Congress and the American public by undermining confidence in the administration, but they revealed the deep divisions that existed within the cabinet and drove a wedge between the incumbent authority and the population at large over the administration's foreign policy in Lebanon. Despite having threatened large segments of democratic populations in some instances, no terrorist incident has yet posed a threat to any nation's *national* security.[74] In order to

---

[70] See M Kelly, "The Seizure of the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa: Managing Terrorism and the Media", in Uriel Rosenthal, (eds.), (1989), op.cit:, p.117

[71] Goldberg reports that according to the US State Department's annual report, Patterns of Global Terrorism, in 1988, 658 deaths were attributed to acts of terrorism. In contrast, more Americans died as a result of accidents. See Goldberg, "The Terrorist Threat to Corporations," in George Roukis, (eds.), Global Corporate Security, (London, Quorum Books, 1990), pp.178-179

[72] Ibid.

[73] Paul James, and J Goldstaub, "Terrorism and the Breakdown of International Order: The Corporate Dimension," Conflict Quarterly, (Summer 1988), p.72

[74] The recent attacks against the US World Trade Centre and the gas attacks on Tokyo underground in March and April 1995, illustrate the potential of terrorist organisation for

achieve this, terrorist organisations need to be in possession of weapons of mass destruction or of some capability that could threaten the whole population simultaneously.

Although terrorist tactics and methods could include weapons of mass destruction in the future and should not be discounted, (recall the Japanese Aum Shinrikyo Sect attacks on the Tokyo underground in 1995)[75], a terrorist threat to a country's entire population at any one time remains a remote possibility.[76] This argument does not ignore the potential for terrorist groups to threaten large sectors of a country's population, such as major city, or to frustrate policy objectives, as Hizb'allah succeeded in doing to U.S. interests in Lebanon. In this instance, however, Hizb'allah did not threaten U.S. national security but its national *interests* in Lebanon.

A balanced perspective should be maintained between threats of a large magnitude and threats against the entire nation. Between the end of the Reagan Administration and the bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York and the Alfred P Murrah building in Oklahoma, successive US governments have not considered terrorism as a major threat to their national security.[77] Prior to the Oklahoma bombing incident in April 1995, the CIA's annual budget for covert action, which includes propaganda support for

---

threatening large population concentrations. According to Dr Bruce Hoffman, terrorist tactical trends are changing and terrorists will begin to resort to methods or weapons that have the potential to inflict greater numbers of casualties and devastation, resulting in more sensationalism as they compete for audiences. See Bruce Hoffman, "Responding to Terrorism Across the Technological Spectrum," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.6, No.3, (Autumn 1994), pp.366-384

[75] See David Kaplan and Andrew Marshall, The Cult At The End Of The World, (London, Hutchinson, 1996) and William Dawkins, "From Mantra to Murder," Financial Times, June 16, 1996, p.XV

[76] See Ronald D Crelinsten, "Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and Democracy: The Assessment of National Security Threats," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.1, No.2, (April 1989), pp.242-269

[77] According to senior FBI sources; "...while the US has considered terrorism as a major threat to their interests abroad, for example their embassies, diplomats and military personnel, prior to the World Trade Centre incident, however, more pertinently the Oklahoma bombing, they have not recognised terrorism as a serious threat to domestic security." Robert Grace and Robin Montgommery, FBI Special Agents in Charge of the Crisis Management Centre at the FBI Academy, **interviews** at Quantico Bay, on July 13, 1995

counter-narcotics and counter-terrorism, amounted to less than one per cent of its total budget .[78] This is a reflection of the real degree of concern and priority which the U.S. governments have displayed towards terrorism.[79]

In crises, the traditional strategy in dealing with terrorism has focused upon the goals of striking a balance between prevention and response.[80] While these are important elements in crisis management, both are governed by the media and the public's perception of the legitimacy of the government's actions. Beyond its violent characteristics, terrorism is a demonstration of intolerance towards official policy. This can usually evident in the terrorist's rhetoric and resistance against one or more aspects of the government's political or socio-economic policies. It is not surprising therefore that counter-terrorism strategies extend beyond the immediate requirements of incident containment and include political and socio-economic programs and reforms.[81] These are aimed at undermining the rationale behind the terrorist organisations' demands and claims. For example, the British government succeeded with this strategy in Malaya and so has Spain against the activities of ETA, albeit with varying degrees of success.[82] Essential as they are

[78] David Gries, "A New Look For Intelligence," Intelligence and National Security, (London, Frank Cass, January 1995), Vol.10, No.1, p.181

[79] See James B Motley, "International Terrorism: A Challenge for U.S. Intelligence," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, (Spring 1986)

[80] For an interesting perspective of maintaining the balance between prevention and response, see A J Behm, Prevention / Response: How to get the Mix Right, A seminar paper delivered at the Terrorism and 2000 Olympics Conference, Australian Defence Force Academy, December 7, 1995

[81] See Paul Wilkinson, and Alasdair M Stewart, (1989), op.cit:, "Pathways Out of Terrorism for Democratic Societies," in particular p.461, sub-section (d) "The fourth scenario..."

[82] For the British experience in Malaysia see Bruce Hoffman and Jennifer M Taw, Defense Policy and Low-Intensity Conflict. The Development of Britain's "Small Wars" Doctrine During the 1950s, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report R-4015-A, 1991) and R W Komer, The Malayan Emergency in Retrospect: Organisation of a Successful Counterinsurgency Effort, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report R-957-ARPA, February 1972). See also Noel Barber, The War of the Running Dogs: The Malayan Emergency 1948-1969, (New York, Weybright and Talley, 1971). See also Richard Clutterbuck, Conflict and Violence in Singapore and Malaysia, 1945-1983, (Boulder, California, Westview Press, 1985). See also Julian Paget, Counter-Insurgency Campaigning, (London, Faber & Faber,

towards eradicating the legitimacy of terrorists, comprehensive counter terrorist strategies are time consuming and necessitate the co-ordination and the co-operation of a large proportion, if not all, of the bureaucracy.[83] Crisis situations, however, do not allow for this as they demand an effective and immediately visible response.

In the struggle for legitimacy the media can become an asset or a liability and governments which implement crisis contingency capabilities, need to ensure that they are equipped to manage the media to their advantage.[84] The Reagan Administration was unprepared and subsequently unable to do this in the aftermath of the above attacks and during the hostage crisis. This situation deteriorated to such an extent that they lost the initiative and the media became part of the problem during the hijacking of Flight TWA 847.[85] However, to be in the position to recover effectively from one-sided media portrayal, the authorities must resort to utilising the information and knowledge that has been placed at their disposal by the intelligence community. This produces tension between the necessity for legitimacy and the need for maintaining operational secrecy and the protection of intelligence sources and methods.

Legitimacy is not only measured against moral judgements pertaining to the use of force. Past and current policy statements provide a benchmark against which crisis responses are measured. It is important therefore to ensure that response measures reflect existing policies. Responding to terrorist crises presents one of the biggest problems with regard to counter terrorist policy and

---

Ltd., 1967). For an overview of terrorism in Spain, see Fernando Reinares, "The Dynamics of Terrorism During the Transition to Democracy in Spain," in Wilkinson and Stewart, (1989), op.cit:, pp.121-129 and John Llewelyn Hollyman, "Basque Revolutionary Separatism: ETA," in Paul Preston, (ed.), Spain in Crisis, (London, Harvester Press, 1976), pp.212-233

[83] See Bruce Hoffman and Jennifer Morrison Taw, A Strategic Framework for Countering Terrorism and Insurgency, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report N-3506-DOS, 1992), pp.1-28 and 77-119

[84] See S Gladis, "The Hostage / Terrorist Situation and the Media," in FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin, 1979, Vol.48, No.9, pp.11-15

[85] This aspect is dealt with in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

legitimacy. This problem is made more complex, however, by the manner in which terrorist organisations, their actions and the actions of the incumbent government are portrayed by the media. In the struggle to establish and maintain legitimacy in the eyes of the public and one's allies, the 'management' of the media is crucial.[86] The key lies in using the media as part of the solution, while not allowing them to become part of the problem. Alexander George has observed that, "...through excessive media coverage, establishment communications channels willingly or unwillingly become tools in the terrorist strategy."[87] The dilemma for the authorities created by media coverage of terrorist crises, is in the questionable ability of the government to respond in a legitimate manner while simultaneously maintaining the balance between infringing upon the freedom of the press and in facilitating their (terrorists') dependency upon press coverage for the success of their operations.[88] Jenkins argues that the solution to this problem is not press censorship.[89] While media coverage of terrorist hijackings can assist the terrorists with an *"initial tactical advantage,"* the objective for the government and security authorities is to gain the moral high-ground and seize the initiative by securing favourable media coverage of response initiatives. This facilitates adherence to the principle of maintaining legitimacy in the eyes of the media and the public.[90] In pursuing legitimacy the

---

[86] See Patrick Lagadec, (1993), op.cit:, pp.103 & 289, and Gerald C Meyers, and John Holusha, Managing Crises: A Positive Approach, (London, Unwin, 1986). Also D Stephenson, "Are You Making the Best of Your Crisis?" in Emergency Planning Digest, (October, 1984), pp.2-4. See also George H Quester, "The Intelligence Community and the News Media," in Gerald Hopple and Bruce Watson, (1986), op.cit:, pp.249-250

[87] See Yonah Alexander, "Terrorism the Media and the Police," Journal of International Affairs, Vol.32 (Spring 1978), pp.101-113

[88] See Philip Revzin, "A Reporter Looks at the Media Role on Terror Threats," Wall Street Journal, March 14, 1977

[89] Brian Jenkins, U.S. News & World Report, (October 21, 1985), op.cit:, p.27

[90] See Joseph Scanlon, "The Hostage Taker, the Terrorist, the Media: Partners in Public Crime," in Lynne Walters, Lee Wilkins and Tim Walters, (eds.), Bad Tidings. Communication and Catastrophe, (Ottawa, Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publishers, 1989), pp.115-130

authorities should exercise caution against creating policy and action precedents. This last generic principle is discussed below.

2.2.7 Avoiding precedents

Apart from ensuring the legality of measures adopted in accordance with domestic and international law, the course of action implemented in crisis response should not be contrary to other agreements entered into between the affected organisation or individual and with any other party.[91] This is an important issue aimed at preventing the inadvertent undermining of the credibility of contracts entered into with other parties or allies, or the actions of other states confronted with similar crises. This principle holds that in implementing response actions, crisis response strategies should be developed and implemented in such a manner so as to prevent the encouragement of repetitive incidents.[92] These may encourage further action by an adversary and could undermine existing agreements or preventative measures either on a unilateral basis or between allies. In seeking international approval and support, it is necessary to communicate effectively and constantly with other states and allies towards ensuring coordination and to prevent any potential conflict of interests, and to avoid any course of action that may precipitate tension as a result of cross-purpose activity.[93] This principle does not imply that precedents should not exist or that they do not exert any influence on state behaviour. Legislation and international law are precedents which influence states and their crisis response strategies.[94] This introduces the tension between

---

[91] See Paul Wilkinson, (1977), op.cit:, p.129

[92] See Hanspeter Neuhold, "Principles and Implementation of Crisis Management: Lessons from the Past," in Daniel Frei, (ed.), op.cit:, pp.8 -14

[93] Paul Wilkinson, (1977), op.cit:, p.129

[94] For a classical overview of why states should adhere to international law, see L Oppenheim, International Law, (London, Longmans Green and Company, 1920). More recent arguments are contained in Hans Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for

ideology and the rule of law that is omni-present in terrorist type crisis situations.

Whereas terrorist groups are judged according to their ideological beliefs and the cause for which they claim to uphold, government responses are judged against the rule of law and the extent to which their counter-measures infringe upon civil liberties.[95] Democratic principles place faithful governments at a disadvantage when responding to terrorist type crises.[96] This has an affect on the function of intelligence when it is used for providing evidence for the prosecution of terrorists rather than for its knowledge worth.[97] It generates tension between the principles of legitimacy, the avoidance of precedents and the protection of intelligence methods and sources. In order to avoid this problem, policy statements should be structured in a manner that will avoid creating precedents which inhibit crisis response options and produce behaviour expectations which dictate rules of engagement.

Consequently the importance of managing communication not only with the adversary during crises, but between allies, and in relation to the public and the media, is vital towards preventing third parties from creating or forcing a precedent upon the government. Managing any crisis situation within the above parameters, as set out in the principles of crisis management, necessitates insight into the environment, the objectives and values of allies and adversaries. Accordingly, intelligence plays a key role in this objective.

Power and Peace, Revised Brief Edition by Kenneth W Thompson, (New York, McGraw Hill, 1993) and Rosaling Higgins, Problems and Process: International Law and How We Use It, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1994). In relation to terrorism see Grant Wardlaw, "The Legal Regulation of Terrorism: International and National Issues," in idem, Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics and Counter-Measures, (Cambridge University Press, 2nd Edition, 1989), pp.103-105

[95] Grant Wardlaw, "The Rule of Law," in idem, (1989), op.cit:, p.69

[96] See Richard Clutterbuck, (1994), op.cit:, p.219 and Paul Wilkinson, (1977), op.cit:, p.121

[97] See the testimony of William Barr, former Attorney General of the U.S. during the Bush Administration, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

2.3. The theory of intelligence

> Intelligence is information gathered for policymakers which illuminates the range of choices available to them and enables them to exercise judgement. Good intelligence will not necessarily lead to wise policy choices. But without sound intelligence, national policy decisions and actions cannot effectively respond to actual conditions and reflect the best national interests or adequately protect national security.[98]

An examination of the function of intelligence must be related to the goals that it is intended to serve. A prerequisite, however, is an understanding of the concept of intelligence and how that process works. This section attempts to achieve that by looking at the definition and function of intelligence, the intelligence cycle, the origins of the producer - consumer dichotomy, the politicisation of intelligence and an examination of how intelligence is affected by communication. The case studies have been selected because not only do they contain examples of the significance of terrorism as crises for the U.S. government, but they illustrate the impact of terrorism as a crisis phenomenon on the intelligence process and include examples of politicisation.

2.3.1 The intelligence cycle

> When handling any crisis it is important to take one's distance and to ask questions before taking action - and to work to maintain this critical distance throughout the episode.[99]

---

[98] See the Rockefeller Commission Report to the President on CIA Activities within the United States, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p.53

[99] Patrick Lagadec, (1993), op.cit:. p.xxxv

Following on the above discussion, it is important to place the intelligence process into proper perspective. Intelligence production is generally presented in the literature as a sequential process and is explained in terms of the *intelligence cycle*.[100] The cycle is the process by which information that is required is identified as relevant, collected, converted into an intelligence product, and disseminated to the consumer.[101] This concept implies that there is a point in the process where intelligence requirements are initiated and to which intelligence reports are rendered.[102] At this point intelligence managers are responsible for interpreting the information requirements of the consumer and for allocation of production priorities, i.e. tasking.[103] Because intelligence should only consist of information that is relevant to the security and prosperity of the state, it is at this stage in the tasking and planning process that managers have to exercise their political judgement with the inherent potential of individual and institutional bias encroaching upon and influencing their objectivity.[104]

"Consumers" are analysts, decision makers or those officials responsible for executing policy decisions such as commanding

---

[100] See Bruce D Berkowitz and Allan E Goodman, Strategic Intelligence for American National Security, (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1989) and the CIA Factbook on Intelligence, (Washington, D.C., Central Intelligence Agency 1994), p.16. Also Jeffrey T Richelson, The U.S. Intelligence Community, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Ballinger Publishing Co.,1989), p.3

[101] See Loch K Johnson, "Making the Intelligence Cycle Work," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.1, No.4, (Winter 1986-87), p.16 and Jeffrey T Richeslon, (1989), op.cit:, pp.3-4

[102] See David Brinckley and Andrew Hull, (1979), op.cit:, and John Von Hoene, Intelligence User's Guide, (Washington D.C., Defence Intelligence Agency, 1983)

[103] For an overview of intelligence tasking see Walter Laqueur, A World of Secrets, (New York, Basic Books, 1985) and Roy Godson, Intelligence Problems for the 1980s. Number One: Elements of Intelligence, Revised Ed., (Washington D.C., National Strategy Information Centre, 1983) and G.J.A. O'Toole, The Encyclopedia of American Intelligence and Espionage, (Oxford, Facts on File, Inc., 1988), pp.241-242

[104] See Thomas L Hughes, The Fate of Facts in a World of Men: Foreign Policy and Intelligence - Making, (New York, Foreign Policy Association, Headline Series, No.233, December 1976) and Roy Godson, "Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s," Washington Quarterly, Vol.12., No.1, (Winter 1989), p.48 and Willmoore Kendall, "The Functions of Intelligence," World Politics, Vol.1, No.4, (July 1949), pp.542-552

officers in the military, security, law enforcement and other executive organisations of the government or corporations. "Decision makers" are in many instances elected individuals who are responsible for articulating policy initiatives and their implementation. They are the primary source of demand and support requirements that are fed into the intelligence system for subsequent tasking, collection, analysis, production and dissemination to the consumer. In acknowledging that the intelligence process comprises tasking and direction, collection and analysis, production, dissemination and feedback, a note of caution is required.

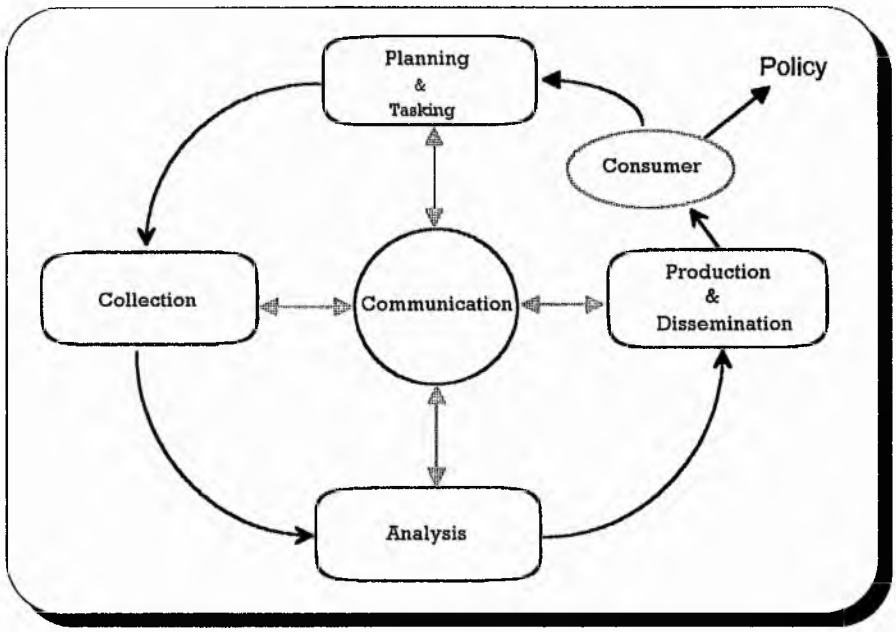
Whereas the functions as described usually follow one another in sequence, the function of communication is omni-present and takes place continuously throughout the process. Communication is the lubricant of the cycle. It not only links the components of the intelligence system to one another, thereby enabling these to interact, but it also provides that essential link between the intelligence community and its external environment. It conveys intelligence requirements from the consumer to the intelligence community. After the production process the intelligence products are disseminated back to the consumer. Communication also provides the decision maker with information on the impact of their policy initiatives on the external environment.[105] Without communication no cyclical connection could exist, goals would be ill defined, threat perception would be difficult to conduct and responsive adaptation to the dynamics of the environment would be dysfunctional. Communication can therefore be described as the axle upon which the intelligence cycle rotates.[106] The management of communication between the analytical branch of the intelligence organisation and the decision makers, however, is one of the most contentious issues that prevails within the philosophy of intelligence. This controversy has

[105] See Willem Steenkamp, (1992), op.cit:, p,43

[106] Refer to the diagram of the intelligence cycle

come to be known as the intelligence producer - consumer dichotomy. While the intelligence cycle is generally accepted as an adequate conceptual tool towards understanding the dynamics of the intelligence process, this model has inherent shortcomings when trying to explain the process during crises. The reason is rooted in the nature of crises and the extraordinary demands that crisis managers make upon the intelligence community during emergency situations which disturbs the routine analytical process.[107] A graphical representation of the intelligence cycle is presented below:[108]

Figure 1: **The intelligence cycle**



[107] See Richard Betts, "Intelligence for Policymaking," in G. Hopple , Steve J Andriole and Amos Freedy, (eds.), National Security Crisis: Forecasting and Management, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1984)

[108] For examples of the intelligence cycle see The CIA Factbook on Intelligence as well as Amas A. Jordan and William J Taylor, American National Security Policy and Process, (Baltimore and London,The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981)

As it stands this model is not capable of explaining nor able to accommodate the dynamics of crisis management and the relationship between intelligence analysis and crisis decision making. No recognition of the transfer of the intelligence analysis function from the intelligence bureaucracy to that of the crisis management team is apparent. More significantly, this model does not reflect the presence of external sources of input such as the media and public opinion on the decision making process. During crises the shortage of time to make decisions complicates the element of proximity in the producer-consumer relationship. This restraint exercises a direct influence over the volume of information which can be presented and absorbed as well as the effectivity of communications.[109] One of the objectives of this thesis to develop a paradigm that can explain this relationship during crises.[110]

With reference to the conceptual definition of intelligence and by analysing its constituent components, it is clear that the role of intelligence is to support the persistence and prosperity of the state.[111] In expanding upon this basic premise and applying intelligence to crisis management, three primary functions of intelligence are identified. These are: (i) indicators & warning intelligence, (ii) the feedback of events and circumstances as a crisis situation develops and (iii) the identification and notification of opportunities that may arise from within the crisis.[112] The last function

---

[109] See Steve Malloy and Charles Schwenk, "The Effects of Information Technology on Strategic Decision Making," Journal of Management Studies, Vol.32, No.3, May 1995, p.283

[110] See the conclusion, Chapter 6.

[111] Refer to back to page 19 for the conceptual definition of intelligence.

[112] See Gerald W Hopple et.al. (eds.), National Security Crisis, Forecasting and Management, (Bowker, Essex, Westview Press, 1984). For an overview of warning and intelligence, see Roberta Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbour: Warning and Decision, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962) and Michael J Handel, Perception, Deception, Surprise: The Case of the Yom Kippur War, (Jerusalem, Leonard Davis Institute of International Relations, Jerusalem paper No.19., 1876) and Amos Perlsmutter, "Israel's Fourth War, October 1973: Political and Military Misperceptions," Orbis, No.xix, (Summer 1975). For an overview of the role of intelligence during the Cuban Missile Crises see Klaus Knorr, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Cuban Missiles," World Politics, No.xvi, (April 1964), pp.455, 465-466. See also Harry Howe Ransom, "Strategic Intelligence and Foreign Policy," World Politics, No.xxvii, (October 1974)

leads directly to the debate over the producer - consumer relationship. The debate over the systemic relationship in the producer - consumer linkage is one which has traditionally concentrated on the element of proximity between the two. The theoretical concern focuses on the degree to which intelligence producers and consumers should interact.[113] The examination of the producer - consumer linkage must be initiated from the vantage of the consumer's objectives which is the starting point of the intelligence tasking, collection and analysis process. Intelligence is information which has been carefully evaluated as to its accuracy and its significance with regard to strategic interests or an issue which is of significant importance to its user.[114] This implies that intelligence is knowledge that deals with unique and secret information that is related to threats, opportunities and planning.[115] Because decision making does not occur in a vacuum, decision makers require information concerned with threats and opportunities relevant to their objectives that can assist them in their decision making. Intelligence, therefore, must be timely, reliable, yet comprehensive and suitably presented.

---

[113] See Jack Davis, "The Kent-Kendall Debate of 1949," CIA: Studies in Intelligence, Vol.36. No.5, (1992), pp.91-103. For an example of the bureaucratic wrangling over how much influence analysts should have in relation to the prime intelligence consumer, the President of the United States, see Russell Jack Smith, The Unknown CIA: My Three Decades with the Agency, (Washington, D.C., Pergammon Brassey's, 1989), pp.32-34. This example describes an argument between Smith who was then responsible for the contents of the Presidential Daily News Brief (PDB), and Willmoore Kendall.

[114] See Ariel Levite, Intelligence and Strategic Surprises, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1987), pp.135-172 and Bruce D Berkowitz and Allan E Goodman, (1989), op.cit:, pp. 3-29 and Richard Schultz, Roy Godson and Ted Greenwood, (eds.), Security Studies for the 1990s, (New York, Brassey's (US), 1993) and Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Intelligence: Conceptual Approaches," in Robert Pfaltzgraff, Uri Ra'anan and Warren Milberg, Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, Uri Ra'anan and Warren Milberg, Intelligence Policy & National Security, (London, Macmillan Press, 1981), pp.35-37 and Donald Mclahlan, "Intelligence the Common Denominator," in Michael Elliot-Bateman, (ed.), The Fourth Dimension of Warfare, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1970), pp.52-67 and Christopher Andrew and David Dilks, The Missing Dimension: Government and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century, (London, Macmillan, 1984), pp.1-16. See also John Bruce Lockhart, Some Observations on the Intelligence Spectrum, (St. Andrews University, Department of Economics, 1982), pp.1-9

[115] See Roy Godson, "What is Intelligence," in Ken G Robertson, (ed.), British and American Approaches to Intelligence, (London, Macmillan Press, 1986)

It is the decision maker's need for information that initiates the intelligence conversion process. This is the terminology used to describe the transformation of unprocessed information into finished intelligence, i.e., analysis. Analysis constitutes two essential steps. The first is evaluation whereby information received is verified to determine its source and authenticity. This stage of the process involves grading the material according to standardised scales of reliability.[116] The integration and aggregation of intelligence information have as objective the creation of a coherent factual picture of a situation or development that is considered to be relevant to the interests of the consumer. Once verified, it is aggregated into factual components for the second stage in the conversion process, which is interpretation. Interpretation is aimed at satisfying the intelligence requirements of the consumer and is the function of intelligence managers during the tasking and review processes.[117] The objective is to provide expert and objective opinion on the implications of the reported facts, and to assist the consumer in decision making, who may not necessarily be an expert in all fields of human endeavour. Interpretation places the facts into contextual perspective with the strategic objectives and interests of the consumer.[118]

---

[116] See Willem Steenkamp, (1992), op.cit:, p.79

[117] See Abram N Shulsky, (1991), op.cit:, and A C Maurer, M D Tunstall and J M Keagle, (eds.), (1985), op.cit:, and Bruce D Berkowitz and Allan E Goodman, (1989), op.cit:, pp.85-109

[118] See Ytzhak Katz and Ygal Vardi, "Strategies for Data Gathering and Evaluation in the Intelligence Community," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.3, pp.313-327

2.3.2 The definition and function of intelligence

> The failure of intelligence to provide timely, reliable information about the onset of a crisis and its development, and the failure of policy makers to make use of available intelligence are among the major generic problems that can undermine efforts at crisis avoidance and crisis management.[119]

Contemporary literature abounds with definitions of intelligence.[120] Common wisdom, however, upholds certain fundamental principles with regards to intelligence. These aver that intelligence must reflect the truth, be as objective as possible, unambiguous, relevant to the needs of the consumer and it must be conveyed in good time.[121] Godson contends that intelligence can be defined within two broader concepts. The first holds that intelligence is information relevant to the national security of the state, i.e. the territorial sovereignty and safety of its inhabitants. The alternative concept embodies intelligence as that information which is sought by the state with regard to the secrets, capabilities and intentions of its adversaries.[122]

---

[119] Alexander L George, (1991), op.cit:, p.554

[120] For the definitions of intelligence as advocated by Kent and Kendall, upon which the traditionalist - activist dichotomy is based, see Sherman Kent, Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966), p.3 and Willmoore Kendall, "The Function of Intelligence," World Politics, Vol.1, No.4., July 1949. For an interesting, albeit, over-simplified and different perspective, see Thomas Troy, "The Correct Definition of Intelligence," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.3, No.4, pp.345-451. See also Harry Ransom, The Intelligence Establishment, (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1970), p.8 and S T Thomas, The U.S. Intelligence Community, (London, University Press of America, 1983), p.3 and Herbert E Meyer, Real-World Intelligence, (New York, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1987), p.6 and Stephen J Cimbala, Intelligence and Intelligence Policy in a Democratic Society, (Dobbs Ferry, New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc., 1987), p.224

[121] For an overview of the characteristics of intelligence, see Glenn Hastedt, "Intelligence and U.S. Foreign Policy: How to Measure Success," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.1,pp.49-61 and Douglas C Bernhardt, "I want it fast, factual, actionable - Tailoring Competitive Intelligence to Executives' Needs," Journal of Long Range Planning, Vol.27, No.1, p.21. See also Herbert E Meyer,(1987), op.cit:, and Robert Jervis, "What's Wrong With the Intelligence Process?" International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.1, (Spring 1986), pp.28-30

[122] Roy Godson In a statement made before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of the U.S. House of Representatives on March 17, 1992

Using Godson's first concept of intelligence as a point of departure, this hypothesis contends that it is not limited to serving the national security interests of the state. The concept should be extended beyond that traditional boundary to include the potential of the state to exploit strategic opportunities towards its persistence and growth.[123] For the purposes of this thesis the following definition of intelligence is used:

> *Intelligence is information which has been identified as relevant, collected, verified, interpreted within the context of specific objectives, analysed, classified and distributed to the policy maker who utilises it towards the persistence and prosperity of the state.*

The relevance of this definition to the thesis is to be found in the significance of the term *the persistence and prosperity of the state.* While the term *persistence of the state* implies that intelligence is information that is primarily aimed at protecting the state from threats to its existence,[124] the inclusion of the word *prosperity* implies that intelligence as an information product, includes analysis that is aimed at identifying opportunities that can be exploited by the consumer to his advantage. Within the intelligence profession this concept is referred to as Opportunity Analysis.[125] It is appropriate to mention at this point that the Chinese ideogram for crisis denotes both danger and opportunity. From the theoretical perspective of this thesis, this is where the link between the activist approach within the producer - consumer relationship, opportunity analysis and crisis management occurs.

---

[123] See Barry Buzan, (1991), op.cit:. pp.6, 19 & 70-71

[124] See Ken Robertson, "Intelligence Terrorism and Civil Liberties," in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M Stewart, (eds.), (1989), op.cit:. p.553

[125] For an overview of Opportunity Analysis by its main proponent, see Jack Davis, "The Challenge of Opportunity Analysis," Centre for the Study of Intelligence, An Intelligence Monograph, (Washington D.C., CSI 92-003U, July 1992) See also Roy Godson, Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s, (Washington D.C., National Strategy Information Centre, 1989), pp.4-11 and Robert A Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc., 1965)

2.3.3 The Kent - Kendall debate: Origins of the traditionalist and activist approaches in the producer - consumer dichotomy

> If we in intelligence were one day given three wishes, they would be to know everything, to be believed when we spoke, and in such a way to exercise an influence to the good in the matter of policy. But absent the Good Fairy, we sometimes get the order of our unarticulated wishes mixed. Often we feel the desire to influence policy and perhaps just stop wishing there. This is too bad, because to wish simply for influence can, and upon occasion does, get intelligence to the place where it can have no influence whatever. By striving too hard in this direction, intelligence may seem just another policy voice, and an unwanted one at that.
>
> Sherman Kent.[126]

The producer - consumer dichotomy is governed by two fundamental points of view, the traditionalist and the activist approaches. The traditionalist approach is based upon the intelligence doctrine of Sherman Kent.[127] This view contends that there is a definite boundary between the domain of the intelligence producer and the consumer, the policy maker. It argues that it is not the place of the intelligence producer to become actively involved in policy decisions, and that policy makers and intelligence producers must keep their distance, or suffer the fate of subjectivity.[128] In Sherman Kent's own words:

> Intelligence must be close enough to policy, plans and operations to provide the greatest amount of guidance and must not be so close that it loses its objectivity and integrity of judgement.[129]

---

[126] Sherman Kent, "Estimates and Influence," Foreign Service Journal, Vol.46, (April 1969)

[127] See Sherman Kent, (1949), op.cit.

[128] See Hans Heymann, "Intelligence/Policy Relationships," in Alfred Maurer, Marion D Tunstall and James Keagle, (eds.), (1985), op.cit:, pp.57-66

[129] See Jack Davis, (1992), op.cit:, pp.92-93. And G Murphy Donovan, "Intelligence Rams and Policy Lions," Studies in Intelligence, (Fall 1986), pp.63-74. Also Stansfield Turner, (198), op.cit:

The traditionalists view the policy process as a prescribed sequence of events into which the intelligence community feeds sterile facts arrived at through deductive analysis and surreptitiously obtained secrets while having no part in the application of those facts to the objectives.[130] From a normative perspective, the traditionalist approach upholds the principle of subservience by the intelligence community to the legislature and the principles of democracy. From a realist point of view, however, this principle is totally idealistic. It ignores factors such as the nature of the individual, ambition, egoism and bias. It also makes no provision for the complex dynamics in inter-personal relationships. In close working environments it is sometimes inevitable for close bonds to be formed or major rifts to occur when individuals are thrown together in extremely stressful situations such as crises. Another fundamental flaw in this approach is the fact that consumers do not only consist of decision makers. Executive departments of government, organisations and policy implementation services such as law enforcement agencies, national industries and the defence community are also consumers of intelligence. The intelligence community itself is often a consumer of its own product. This occurs when the community carries out operational tasks or covert actions. Before embarking on such operations, it will request and consult the available intelligence for planning purposes.

The activist philosophy is based on the principle of intelligence performing more than just a timely presentation of the facts to the consumer.[131] The remit of the intelligence function in this context is to play an active role in influencing the decision making process by presenting the decision maker with facts which, if acted upon, in a

---

[130] See Roger Hilsman, Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions, (Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1956) and Arthur Hulnick, (1986), op.cit:, p.214

[131] See Deborah Brammer and Arthur S Hulnick, "Intelligence and Policy - The On-Going Debate," CIA Document Approved For Release by the CIA Historical Review Program, (McLean Virginia), pp.12-14

timely manner can enable the consumer to seize the initiative.[132] This approach implies a symbiotic relationship between intelligence and policy, with intelligence producers more actively disposed towards policy objectives and action based upon perceived opportunities.[133] This dichotomy will remain a contentious issue for as long as scholars focus upon the normative and theoretical aspects of the relationship and fail to consider the function of intelligence in real-life situations and in particular, crises.

The origins of the Kent - Kendall debate go back to 1949 when Sherman Kent published *Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy*. In his review of Kent's work, Kendall published *The Function of Intelligence*. While they differed over the nature of the relationship between intelligence analysts and policy makers, their doctrines were not mutually exclusive and have a fundamental point in common. This point of convergence was on the importance of getting the relationship between analysts and decision makers right. Both realised the importance of communication and interaction between producers and consumers, albeit for different reasons. Kent's ideal was of bureaucratic scholars processing information in order to understand the world for bureaucratic policy planners and to present those facts to the consumer but to avoid any undue interference in the decision making process itself. In Strategic Intelligence, Kent described the function of intelligence as:

> Intelligence is not the formulator of objectives...drafter of policy...maker of plans...carrier out of operations. Intelligence is ancillary to these; it performs a service function. Its job is to see that the doers are generally well informed - to analyse alternative courses of action without indicating choice.

---

[132] See Willmoore Kendall, "The Function of Intelligence," World Politics, Vol.1, No.4, July 1949) and Jack Davis, (1992), op.cit: p.95

[133] See P Laurer, "Ethics and Intelligence," in Alfred Maurer, Marion D Tunstall and James Keagle (eds.), (1985), op.cit:, pp.69-87 and Stafford Thomas, "Intelligence Production and Consumption," in Alfred Maurer, Marion D Tunstall and James Keagle, (eds.), (1985), op.cit:, pp.125-156

As the head of ONE 1952-1967, Kent was mostly involved in intelligence estimates. His expertise was rooted in strategic intelligence and estimates and not in current intelligence. While Kent originally believed in the importance of guidance from the policy makers he subsequently became alienated from this view and advocated analysis in support of the truth as opposed to intelligence in support of power. It later took Ray Cline and Chester Cooper to reverse this process and to promote closer interaction between analysts and consumers for the purpose of seeking tasking and feedback.

Kendall rejected the above ideal and believed that producers responsibility was to bring to the attention of consumers those elements of an issue that were susceptible to US influence. In so doing, the role of the analyst was to influence policy as far as possible. He charged Kent and the intelligence leaders with a compulsive preoccupation with wartime analysis and with intelligence prediction and of wanting to eliminate surprise. He believed that Kent's approach undermined alternative and lateral thinking and that alternative policies other than those in efect would never be considered as a result. He advocated the intelligence community serving the policymaking needs of congressional leaders as opposed to primarily the President. Kendall was an antagonist of the "imperial presidency." One important difference between them was that they saw intelligence serving different levels of decision makers. Kent regarded the presidency as the ultimate consumer, while Kendall regarded politically responsible laymen in Congress as the ultimate consumers.

The policy and intelligence processes are different but not separate. Intelligence is defined through analysis, i.e. the transformation of un-processed information into evaluated information and interpreted within the context of specific objectives, i.e. policy. The validity of intelligence is judged by its ability in

building an intellectual platform upon which decisions can be made. Policy, however, is measured by the acceptance or resistance associated with its implementation, in other words, support. New policy initiatives help to focus intelligence collection, tasking and analysis. Intelligence and feedback may influence policy decisions and alter objectives. This relationship is therefore dynamic and invariably interactive, however, not necessarily sequential. This process of interaction is not always harmonious and is often conducted within an atmosphere of latent tension. In coming to terms with the nature of the producer - consumer problem, the bureaucratic, philosophic and human elements which prevail in the relationship need closer analysis.

It is natural to assume that two closely related tribes who speak the same language and who work towards a common objective, co-exist in harmony. The reality, when viewed from either perspective, however, suggests otherwise. Many policy makers depart from the assumption that they can expect total support from the intelligence community, for their policy initiatives.[134] This view reinforces the activist philosophy. The former DCI, William Casey, was an avid activist who tried to manage the CIA according to activist principles.[135] Policy makers' expectations of support by the intelligence community implies a shared and active interest and if necessary, *advocacy* of their policies. This has certainly occurred throughout more than one American administration.[136] According to former DCI Stansfield Turner, President Carter actively sought his recommendations and advocacy with regards to the Iran crisis and

---

[134] See Mark M Lowenthal, "Tribal Tongues: Intelligence Consumers, Intelligence Producers," CIA Document approved for release by the CIA Historical Review Program, (Copyright by the Center for Strategic and International Studies and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992), pp.13

[135] See editorial, "Casey's CIA: New Clout, New Danger," US News & World Report, June 16, 1986, pp.24-27

[136] See Christopher Andrew, "American Presidents and Their Intelligence Communities," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.10, No.4, (October 1995), pp.95-112

possible strategies in dealing with the hostage situation and the Ayatollah. He explains that, "Once an intelligence chief begins to recommend policy, it becomes very difficult for him not to want his intelligence to support that policy."[137]

Another example of this phenomenon was the interference by Turner's successor, William Casey, when he had a serious disagreement with the CIA's analysis on Mexico. Supplied with a *draft* intelligence estimate on Mexico prematurely, Casey disagreed vehemently with the analyst in charge, John Horton, when he tried to place the faulty estimate into perspective. Horton pointed out that much of the estimate had been based on rumour, hearsay and unsubstantiated evidence. Casey objected to Horton's qualified view when it became apparent that a more conservative estimate on the instability of Mexico would not support Casey's disdain for the president of Mexico, Miguel de la Madrid, who was an obstacle to the CIA's objectives in Nicaragua and Mexico.[138] The above examples reinforce the erroneous assumption that the role of intelligence is to support preconceived policy, rather than building political objectives and policy initiatives based on solid intelligence. This premise runs contrary to the traditionalist principle that intelligence analysts should not advocate policy. Institutional behaviour, however, tends towards creating barriers between the producers and consumers. The intelligence community, with the exception of the political appointees in the upper echelons, consists of permanent career officials. Like the rest of the government bureaucracy, they adopt a "we/they" view of the producer - consumer relationship. The policy makers are regarded as political transients and analysts often have the view that as temporary policy officials, policy makers do not have sufficient grasp of the long-term crucial issues. This attitude influences

---

[137] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.50

[138] For the full account of this incident and its background, see Bob Woodward, (1988), op.cit:, pp.413-423 and Joseph Persico, (1990), op.cit:, pp.364-365. See also John Gentry, (1993), op.cit:, pp.32, 65 and 75

producers to hold back and refrain from direct personal commitment to fluctuating policy initiatives. This, however, is contrary to the consumers' expectations of unquestionable support from the bureaucracy for their policies.

Compounding this tension in the producer - consumer relationship is the fact that consumers frequently advocate and implement policy initiatives that are in total contradiction with the facts presented by the intelligence community and their subsequent beliefs.[139] The tension between the intelligence community and policy makers is reinforced by additional factors. Policy makers are often frustrated by the fact that intelligence input often tends to expand rather than

---

[139] This problem was evident in Lebanon during the Reagan Administration. The US foreign policy in the Middle East was moulded and reinforced by their strategic and ideological preoccupation with Soviet containment. Secretary of State, George Schultz, insisted that the United States' foreign policy objectives in the region should be based on a negotiated withdrawal of Syrian and Israeli forces from Lebanon and the restoration of the Christian militia government under Bashir Gemayel. This policy was in line with their overarching strategy of preventing a potential flashpoint between American and Soviet allies which could have led to a Superpower confrontation. (George Schultz's objectives were confirmed by Geoffrey Kemp, former Director for Near East and South Asian affairs on the NSC Staff and Special Advisor to Presdient Reagan for National Security Affairs, in an **interview** with the author in Washington DC, July 19, 1995. This was also pointed out in an **interview** with journalist, John Walcott on July 17, 1995 in Washington DC). Schultz's views on US support for the Gemayel government, however, ran contrary to the conviction and advice of the intelligence community at the time. The CIA believed that the Gemayel government lacked sufficient popular support and that Israel was pursuing an agenda in Lebanon that was in conflict with US interests. Not only did the intelligence community differ with Schultz, but the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff also disagreed with Schultz's assessment. Furthermore, Weinberger and the military had a fundamental disagreement with Schultz over the use of force in support of diplomacy in Lebanon. Once again this difference in opinion between Schultz and Weinberger reflected the deep divisions that prevailed in the Reagan cabinet. President Reagan's reluctance to support one or the other compounded the Lebanon crisis and resulted in indecisiveness. Not only did the President's management style create incohesion, but it opened up opportunities for activists, like William Casey and the NSA Robert McFarlane to exploit this vacuum. The consequences led directly to the Iran-Contra Affair. For more details see Malcolm Mackintosh, "The Impact of the Middle East Crisis on Super-power Relations," in Gregory Treverton, Crisis Management and the Super-powers in the Middle East. (Hampshire, England, Gower Publishing, 1981), pp.4-12. See also Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.30-31. David kennedy and Richard Haass, The Reagan Administration and Lebanon, 1982-84, (Georgetown, Washington DC, The Institute fo the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Pew Case Study No.358, 1993) Also David Kennedy and Leslie Brunetta, Lebanon and the Intelligence Community, (Harvard, Harvard University, Kennedy School of Government, Case Study, 1988), p.8. For details of the disagreement between Schultz and Weinberger, see Caspar Weinberger, (1991), op.cit:, pp.158-167. Also Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.49-61 and John Prados, Keepers of the Keys: A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush, (New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991), pp.462-474. For the consequences of crisis induced stress on decision makers, see Patrick Lagadec, (1993), op.cit:, p.161 and Jerold M Post, "The Impact of Crisis-Induced Stress on PolicyMakers," in Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.473 & 483. Post reveals that criticism levelled against crisis managers from within the ranks of their own management group is a major source of stress during crises.

reduce their level of uncertainty.[140] Intelligence illuminates alternative possibilities and factors that are often overlooked or neglected by policy makers. The ignorance of some policy makers regarding intelligence methodology can further erode the intelligence community's integrity and increase the policy maker's frustration when the use of information is limited because of its classification.[141] This is exacerbated when the intelligence community competes for the attention of the policy maker who has numerous sources of information.[142] The intelligence community does not produce and disseminate information for policy makers in isolation. Traditionalist doctrine demands that intelligence officers are expected to be impartial, non-partisan and non-ideological.[143] As professional and career officials, they are expected to serve each administration regardless of its political persuasion.

The distance between the intelligence community and the policy makers tends to erect a barrier between the producers and the scope of the policy objectives that they are expected to serve.[144] In many

---

[140] For an overview of the problems of information overload, signals, noise and ambiguity, see Roberta Wohlstetter, (1962), op.cit: also Thomas L Hughes, "The Power to Speak and the Power to Listen: Reflections on Bureaucratic Politics and a Recommendation on Information Flows," In Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, (eds.), Secrecy and Foreign Policy, (New York, New York University Press, 1974). See also Mark Lowenthal, (1992), op.cit:, p.15 and Uriel Rosenthal, (et.al), (1989) op.cit:, see the section on "Information and Communication.Upward and Downward Communication: From Explosion to Shortage," pp.463-466. For information overload and intelligence, Richard K Betts, Surprise Attack: Lessons for Defence Planning, (Washington, D.C., Brookings Institute, 1982). See also G Murphy Donovan, (1986), op.cit:, pp.65-67 and Hans Heymann, "When Intelligence Fails to Reduce Uncertainty," in Alfred Maurer, (et.al), (1985), op.cit:, pp.324-325

[141] See Jeremy J Stone, "Secrecy and Covert Intelligence Collection and Operations," in Morton H Halperin, National Security Policy-Making, (Lexington, Massachusetts, Lexington Books, D.C. Heath and Company, 1975), pp165-173. See also Thomas L Hughes, (1974), op.cit:, p.18 and Hans Heymann, "When Intelligence Restricts Options," in Alfred Maurer, (et.al), (1985), op.cit:, pp.325-328. Also Samuel Halpern, "Clandestine Collection," in Roy Godson, (1983), op.cit:, p.37

[142] See George H Quester, "The Intelligence Community and the News Media," in G Hopple and B Watson, (1986), op.cit:, pp.249-250 and Robert Cecil, "The Assessment and Acceptance of Intelligence: A Case Study," in Ken G Robertson, British and American Approaches to Intelligence, (London, Macmillan Press, Ltd., RUSI, 1987), pp.166-182 and Alexander George, Presidential Decision Making in Foreign Policy, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1980)

[143] See Sherman Kent, (1969), op.cit, p.167

[144] Deborah Brammer and Arthur S Hulnick, Intelligence and Policy - The On-Going Debate, (no date available), op.cit:, p.11. And Yehoshafat Harkabi, "The Intelligence -

instances, questions asked by policy makers are inappropriate for intelligence judgements and tend towards policy prescriptions. At worst, entrenched and faulty assumptions on the part of the policy makers dictates intelligence questions and priorities.[145] Intelligence seeks accuracy, and should strive to maintain a distinction between facts and judgements. Where there is a lack of adequate facts in the conversion process, however, ambiguity may lead to speculation that carries with it the negative potential for mirror-imaging and therefore bias which undermines the accuracy and integrity of intelligence.[146] This methodological distinction is not always appreciated by policy

---

Policymaker Tangle," Jerusalem Quarterly, (Winter 1984), pp.123-131

[145] This was certainly the case prior to the fall of the Shah of Iran when the prevalent mind-set of the Carter Administration officials was that the Shah's Regime was stable. This flawed perspective was reinforced by the Shah's monopoly over the armed forces and exacerbated by the lask of insight by the intelligence community into the domestic socio-political dynamics of Iran at the time. This inflexible attitude failed to stimulate alternative intelligence and policy questions. See the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Iran: Evaluation of U.S. Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978, 96th Congress, 1st session, 1979, (Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1979). Also Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, pp.145-165 and Michael Ledeen and William Lewis, Debacle: The American Failure in Iran, (New York, Alfred Knopf, 1981) Also for an overview of faulty American perspectives with regard to Iran and the Shah's position prior to the fall, see Barry Rubin, Paved With Good Intentions, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980), pp.180-208. See Gregory F Treverton and James Klocke, The Fall of the Shah of Iran, (Georgetown, Washington,D.C., The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Pew Case Study No.311, 1994), p.5. Also see Amir Taheri, Nest of Spies, (London, Hutchinson), pp.77-91. See also Zachary Karabell, "Inside the U.S. Espionage Den: The U.S. Embassy and the Fall of the Shah," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.8, No.1, (January 1993), pp.44-59. See the U.S. Congress House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Staff Report: Iran: Evaluation of U.S. Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978. (1979), pp.1-8. See the comments made by former National Security Advisor, Zbigniew Brzezinski in Power and Principle, (New York: N.Y.: Farrar, 1985), p.359. Also Zachary Karabell, (January 1993), op.cit:, pp.44-59. See Also Gary Sick, All Fall Down, (New York, I.B.Taurus,1986), pp.438-440

[146] Mirror imaging is the phenomenon where analysts superimpose their own thought processes over those of an adversary. They attempt to ascertain how they would react to a given situation if they were in the shoes of the adversary. This is a fundamental mistake because in the process they fail to realise that the other party might not think in exactly the same manner and that values preferences that the analyst might hold, may differ substantially from those of the adversary. For further explanation of this concept, see Leo D Carl, The International Dictionary of Intelligence, (McLean, Virginia, International Defence Consultant Services, Inc, 1990), p.240: "Mirror-imaging: the projection on, or ascription, to a hostile intelligence service or government the same behaviour or motivations in a given set of circumstances as those of the observer. (2) the conscious or unwitting adoption by an intelligence service of the modus operandi in particular situations as that of a hostile service." For an in-depth overview of this phenomenon see, Robert B Bathurst, Intelligence and the Mirror, (London, Sage Publications, 1993). This is the same concept as Graham T Allison's theory of the Rational Actor Model. See Graham T Allison, (1971), op.cit:, pp.4-5 and 10-11 and Sidney Verba, "Assumptions of Rationality and Nonrationality in Models of the International System," in James N Rosenau, (ed.), International Politics and Foreign Policy, Revised Edition, (New York, The Free Press, 1969), p.231

makers. To facilitate the dissemination of intelligence - especially in a multiple consumer environment - producers package intelligence according to standardised formats towards achieving recognition and cost-effectiveness. Standardisation does not always suit the individual needs of all the consumers which often results in the product being ignored altogether.[147] The complexities involved in transforming raw and unevaluated information into a product that has been analysed and interpreted in line with specific objectives is time consuming.[148] This often frustrates the consumers as intelligence does not always succeed in delivering its product on cue when it is most needed. Intelligence that is delivered on issues that are not relevant to the immediate concern of the consumer - particularly during a crisis - tends to be ignored by the policy maker.[149] In their endeavours to remain in office, policy makers use intelligence selectively in order to maximise their personal positions first, their institutional position second and the security of the nation thereafter.

2.3.4 Opportunity Analysis

Despite the fact that the Kent-Kendall debate was formulated in 1949, it has nevertheless remained at the heart of the producer-consumer dichotomy. However, this doctrine could not have anticipated the challenges that contemporary crises - such as terrorism - present to current national security decision making. In the late 40s and subsequent 50s, 60s and even 70s, crises were synonymous with war avoidance, not terrorism. This argument does not intend to refute the doctrine. Rather it seeks to illustrate the

---

[147] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995. See also Anne Armstrong, (1989), op.cit:, pp.23-33

[148] See also John Gentry, (1993), op.cit:, pp.12, & 211-213

[149] Observation made by Admiral Stansfield Turner (retired), former Director of Central Intelligence during an **interview** with the author at Mclean Virginia, on July 23, 1995

difficulty of reconciling this theory derived in the late 40s with current dynamics of national security decision making.

Attempts to modify the doctrine in line with contemporary policy making emphasise the importance of opportunity analysis. The origins of this approach can be traced back to 1986 when Kenneth de Graffenreid refered to opportunity analysis as "...analysis [that] illuminates for the policymaker opportunities for advancing US objectives and interests through diplomacy, military and economic moves, cultural activities and other poloitical action."[150] During the mid-1980s, de Graffenreid served as the Senior Director for Intelligence programs on the National Security Council Staff. At that time opportunity analysis was a function that the NSC staff conducted for the President and the National Security Advisor. Contemporary proponents of this approach who are trying to promote this concept among the intelligence analysis community are Roy Godson and Jack Davis, from the Consortium for the Study of Intelligence.[151] According to Davis, opportunity analysis is best described as:

> ...an intelligence assessment thay directly relates the production unit's substantive expertise to the implementation of national security policy - in effect by pointing to opportunities and vulnerabilities the United States can exploit to advance a policy as well as to the dangers that could undermine policy. The standard is to provide explicitly actionable analysis without prescribing general policy guidelines.[152]

---

[150] See Kenneth de Graffenreid, "Intelligence and the Oval Office," in Roy Godson, (ed.), Intelligence and Policy, (Washington D.C., National Strategy Information Centre, 1987), p.28

[151] For an in-depth article on opportunity analysis see Jack Davis, "The Challenge of Opportunity Analysis," Intelligence Monograph, (Washington D.C., Centre for the Study of Intelligence, CSI 92-003U, July 1992) See also Roy Godson, Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s, (Washington D.C., National Strategy Information Centre, 1989), pp.4-11 and Robert A Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc., 1965)

[152] See Jack Davis, (July 1992), op.cit:, p.7

This concept can also be applied to crisis situations. Although crises tend to highlight only imminent and serious threats to the interests of the consumer, instances do arise where a proper and well thought out strategy can be used to not only recover from the crisis situation with one's interests intact, but where the tables can be turned upon an adversary and his potential weaknesses exploited to one's own advantage.[153]

In many instances it is ignorance of the intelligence process itself as well as a lack of appreciation of the capabilities of the intelligence community that produce intelligence failures during crises. The inherent danger associated with opportunity analysis, however, is the potential for individual and institutional interests to predominate and influence the integrity of the analysis which can result in the politicisation of intelligence.[154] This phenomenon is explained below.

2.3.5 The politicisation of intelligence

> Politicisation can manifest itself in many ways, but in each case it boils down to the same essential elements: Almost all will agree that it involves the deliberate distortion of analysis or judgements to favour a preferred line of thinking irrespective of the evidence.[155]

---

[153] See David Brinckley and Andrew Hull, Estimative Intelligence: A Textbook on the History, Products, Uses and Writing of Intelligence Estimates, (Colombus, Ohio, Battelle, 1979) and Arie Ofri, "Crisis and Opportunity Forecasting," in Orbis, No.26, (Winter 1983), p.822 and Robert Mandel, "Political Gaming and Foreign Policy Making During Crises," World Politics, No.29, (July 1977), p.622

[154] The politicisation of intelligence will be demonstrated in the following case studies. for an overview of intelligence and politicisation, see Robert Gates, Guarding Against Politicisation, Extract from a speech on the subject delivered by Gates to CIA Analysts in the CIA Auditorium on March 16, 1992. See also Robert Gates, "The Use of Intelligence at the White House," Washington Quarterly, Vol.12, No.1, (Winter 1989), pp.35-43. See also Kenneth de Graffenreid, "Intelligence and the Oval Office," in Roy Godson, (eds.), (1986), op.cit:, pp.8-18

[155] Statement made by former DCI Robert Gates in a speech to the CIA at Langley, Virginia on March 16, 1992

Politicisation - essentially policy-driven bias, arises when there is a lack of understanding of the basic normative principles governing the role and function of intelligence and where intelligence is regarded as either a product in support of preconceived policy objectives, or as a product that is in search of a policy to support.[156] From the perspective of the policy maker and the consumer, this phenomenon is more likely to occur under the former misunderstanding. Policy makers are intimately involved in their policy objectives and actively seek out information that reinforces their beliefs and which can be used to substantiate their course of actions.[157] According to Richard Haass:

> The danger of politicisation, the potential for the intelligence community to distort information or judgement in order to please the political authorities of the day, is real, and obviously can never be eliminated if intelligence officials are involved, as they must be in the policy process. The challenge, though is to develop reasonable safeguards while permitting intelligence producers and consumers to interact. Guarding against political pressure, guarding against parochialism is a powerful argument for maintaining a strong centralised capability, and not leaving decisions affecting important intelligence-related questions solely to the policy making departments.[158]

During the Reagan Administration, former National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane and some members of the NSC staff are alleged to have altered the text of intelligence analyses pertaining to National Security Staff Directive (NSSD5-84) which reported that the

---

[156] See Major-General Sir Kenneth Strong, Men of Intelligence, (New York, St Martin's Press, 1972), pp.140-143

[157] See Mark M Lowenthal, (1992), op.cit:, p.15 and Richard K Betts, "American Strategic Intelligence: Politics, Priorities, and Direction," in Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, Uri Ra'anan and Warren H Milberg, Intelligence Policy & National Security, (London, Macmillan Press, 1981), pp.256-260. See also House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Iran: Evaluation of U.S. Intelligence Performance Prior to November 1978, 96th Congress, 1st session, 1979, (Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1979)

[158] See the testimony of Richard Haass, former senior director of the NSC staff, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

US had little prospects of success in establishing ties with moderate elements within the Iranian government. They updated and paraphrased the intelligence estimates to support their policy bias which was based on the belief that the key to rapprochement with Iran and to the release of the western hostages in Lebanon, could be achieved through establishing contact with the Iranian moderates.[159]

Consumers - who are policy makers - are prone to cognitive bias, a tendency to display mental intransigence, and when presented with evidence that is in conflict with their ambitions - their comfort zones - they tend towards cognitive dissonance.[160] The latter can be described as a state of mind where there is a conflict between reality and a preconceived idea. The difference creates tension in the mind of the beholder, who follows a subsequent course of action or decision making which concurs with his or her preferred line of thinking.[161]

Festinger argues that dissonance exists between two cognitions which are inconsistent with each other.[162] A cognition may be a fact, a belief or an opinion about anything, including one's own behaviour. Any two cognitions can be *consonant* - that is, consistent with one another, or *dissonant* - inconsistent, or irrelevant, where the

---

[159] This allegation is made by former Secretary of Defence, Casper Weinberger, (1991), op.cit: p.362

[160] For a useful discussion on the problem of cognitive dissonance see Norman F Dixon, On the Psychology of Military Incompetence, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1976). In this seminal work Dixon provides numerous examples of military failures as a result of cognitive dissonance. See also Robert Jervis, Perception and Misperception in International Politics, (Princeton University Press, 1976) and for cognitive dissonance and intelligence, see Richard J Heuer, Jr, "Cognitive Biases in the Evaluation of Intelligence Estimates," Proceedings, Tenth Annual Convention of American Institute for Decision Sciences, (St. Louis, Montana, Oct.30-Nov. 1, 1978), p.1. Also Jack Davis, "Combating Mind-Set," Studies in Intelligence Vol.36, No.5, 1992

[161] For further academic explanations of this phenomenon see Roun Harre' and Roger Lamb, (eds.), The Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Psychology, **cognitive dissonance**, (London, Blackwell, 1983), p.93, and N Chapanis and A Chapanis, "Cognitive Dissonance: Five Years Later," Psychological Bulletin, Vol.61, pp.1-22. See also C Osgood and P Tannenbaum, "The Principle of Congruity in the Prediction of Attitude Change," Psychological Review, Vol.62, (1955), pp.42-55

[162] See Leon Festinger, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957)

existence of one implies nothing about the other. According to Festinger, any person who behaves in the above manner, and who displays an inconsistency with his own attitude, suffers from cognitive dissonance.[163]

An example of this phenomenon was the unshakeable belief of the former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, DCI William Casey and President Reagan, who based their opinions on terrorism and counter-terrorist policies on their perceptions that the former Soviet Union was the orchestrating arm behind international terrorism.[164] It is interesting to note that Haig requested the intelligence community to produce a National Intelligence Estimate of the Soviets' role in terrorism *after* he had stated it as a fact in a cabinet meeting.[165] This is a classic example of how the consumer, by tasking the intelligence community, can either inadvertently or quite deliberately influence the analysis requested by making policy statements. This can induce the intelligence community to provide substantiating evidence in support of existing policy bias.[166] It is an easy trap for intelligence analysts in their attempts to support the consumer, to succumb to presuppositions and to either search for specific corroborating evidence, or to skew their analysis by placing a slant or special emphasis on specific factors which may or could result in a predetermined interpretation of the evidence.

The challenge for analysts lies in their ability and integrity to be able to produce intelligence that objectively assesses relevant policy issues - irrespective of whether it supports or undermines current consumer beliefs.[167] Under these circumstances, the least that can be

---

[163] Ibid.

[164] The background to Alexander Haig's and the intelligence communities' opinions are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3

[165] Martin & Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.51

[166] See the testimony by Carolyn McGiffert Ekedahl before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence in September 1991, titled: CIA Politicisation, dated September 30, 1991

[167] This point and subsequent argument is attributed to the author's personal experiences as an intelligence officer from 1975-1985

hoped for is to facilitate a wider understanding of the realities of a particular situation and the potential implications should the policy maker insist in implementing his policy initiatives. Where it is known that the consumer holds a divergent view to that of the intelligence community, the analysis should at least include the consumer's opinion but in such a manner that it reflects both the strengths and weaknesses of his belief. These should be contrasted against the evidence and reasoning of the argument which substantiates the conclusions of the analyst.[168] By highlighting those specific areas where the producer and the consumer's policy preferences are based upon speculation, hearsay and untested assumptions, one can hope that reason will prevail and that the consumer will at least be prompted to review his opinions. The root of the problem of convergence between the producer and consumer is to be found in the dilemma over the linkage between the two and the traditionalist - activist debate. This very issue of communication between the intelligence analyst/manager and the policy maker during the decision making process is the centre of the producer-consumer dichotomy and is explained below.

2.3.6 Communication and the producer - consumer interface

Just how close or how far a distance should be maintained between the intelligence community and the policy maker and what laws should govern their relationship remains the crux of the problem.[169] In trying to analyse that relationship, however, the mistake is often made whereby the producer - consumer relationship

---

[168] Statement made by former DCI Robert Gates in a speech to the CIA at Langley, Virginia on March 16, 1992

[169] See William J Barnds, "Intelligence Functions," The Murphy Commission on the Organisation of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, Vol.7, (June 1975), p.14

is personified by the concept of the intelligence community as the producer, and the government administration as the consumer. While it is natural to view the producer - consumer relationship in terms of two mutually exclusive spheres, this approach is misleading. In most political systems an operational interface exists. In the United States, this is the National Security Council staff, which are entrusted with the responsibility of implementing national security policy decisions,[170] the DCI and intelligence managers. In keeping with

[170] The National Security Council was established under President Truman two years after the end of the Second World War with the promulgation of the National Security Act on July 26, 1947. This legislation provided the formal and statutory machinery to deal with America's involvement in international politics. The term "national security" implies the inclusion of those related concepts such as diplomacy, defence, intelligence and economic activity which are components of a greater whole, namely, the national interest. Each reflects a distinct, yet interrelated aspect of America's relationship with the rest of the world. The latter is integrated into a broader framework subsumed under the umbrella concept of national security. This notion of a national security body reflects an awareness that a broader perspective on global affairs, which is defined and co-ordinated as a *national* policy, is only realisable under the high-profile leadership of the President. As the primary institution tasked with the responsibility for national security management, and as the advisor to the President on national security affairs, the National Security Council (NSC) and the National Security Advisor (NSA) are prime intelligence consumers after the President of the United States.The National Security Council has two statutory functions. Foremost is the formulation of security policy. This is carried out by the statutory members of the NSC as identified below. The preparation of policy options for presentation to the key NSC members, however, is the responsibility of the NSC staff. They are full-time officials seconded to the NSC by the respective security and intelligence organisations. The National Security Advisor is the head of the NSC staff as well as the NSC Planning Group These staff members are responsible for the co-ordination of, and assistance to, the other executive departments in government tasked with the implementation of NSC decisions and policy.The NSC's secondary function is planning for the implementation and execution of national security policy. The NSC staff's function, however, does not imply that national security policy is made at that level, but rather that it assists with policy options which are presented to the President and the cabinet for selection and approval. In terms of its relationship with the President, the NSC staff fulfils an activist role. Once approved by the President, the staff will assist the government departments responsible for implementation and execution of the policy by way of consultation and coordination. In terms of the 1947 amended statute, the NSC is comprised of the President, Vice President, the Secretary of Defence, the Secretary of State and any other officials who may be required to serve at the invitation of the President. Examples of these almost permanent ad-hoc members are the Director of Central Intelligence, who is the head of the CIA, and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The NSC is therefore a decision making body with a subordinate staff who make up the Planning Group and the Co-ordinating Committee. As an institution, the NSC is located within the White House. The NSC staff has an important institutional role in planning for crises. For comprehensive overviews of the history, structure and development of the NSC and the NSC staff, see Christopher Shoemaker, The NSC Staff: Counseling the Council, (Boulder, Westview Press,1991). Also Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC's Mid-Life Crisis," Foreign Policy. No.69, (Winter 1987-88) See the Tower Board-NSC Function Hearing, US Congress, Joint Hearing of the Investigations Subcomittee of the Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives 100th Congress, April 30, 1987, p.4. See John Allen Williams, "The National Security Establishment: Institutional Framework for Policymaking," in Stephen J Cimbala, (ed.), National Security Strategy: Choices and Limits, (New York, Praeger Publishers, 1984), p.326 and Ernest R May, "The Development of Political-Military Consultation in the United States," in Karl F Inderfurth and Loch K Johnson, (eds.), (1988), op.cit:, p.9 See also the U.S. Government Executive Order No.12333 of December 4, 1981, Part1.2: "The National Security Council, (a) Purpose." See also Constantine Menges, Inside the National Security Council, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1988), p.358. See also Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989),

traditionalist principles, the above function as middle-men and cut-outs between analysts and decision makers. At the highest level, the DCI functions as the interface between the President of the U.S. and the intelligence community.[171] It is the responsibility of the intelligence managers to communicate requirements for intelligence tasking and collection. To be able to do this effectively, managers must be in constant touch with the decision makers in order to have a clear grasp of consumer requirements. It is also their duty to transmit finished intelligence products to the decision maker.[172] The activist approach holds that in doing so, managers must provide decision makers with judgements and the implications of their judgements on their environment.[173] Despite tensions and friction in the relationship, Barnds, argues that policy makers must keep the appropriate sectors of the intelligence community appraised of significant policy matters for consideration.

Policy makers must also learn to ask the right questions of the right people. This, Barnds points out, requires continual communication on a formal and informal level between the producers and consumers.[174] Between the White House and the intelligence community, the NSC and its staff serves as that interface between intelligence and the decision making body.[175]

---

op.cit:, pp.432-437

[171] See Christopher Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush, (London, Harper Collins, 1995), pp.169-170. See also Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.432-437

[172] See Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.432-437 and Christopher Shoemaker, (1991), op.cit.

[173] See Roger Hilsman, (1956), op.cit:, p.118 and Benno Wasserman, (1960), op.cit:, p.161

[174] See William J Barnds, "Intelligence Functions," The Commission on the Organisation of the Government for the Conduct of Foreign Policy, Vol.7, (June 1975), p.14

[175] See Christopher Shoemaker, The NSC Staff, (1991). Under Henry Kissinger and Nixon, the Washington Special Action Group functioned within the NSC as the crisis management team and under President Reagan, the Crisis Pre-Planning Group (CPPG) within the NSC staff, functioned as the crisis management team. See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, pp.295 and 481-500

The corrupting factor of the normative principles that govern this relationship are to be found in the nature of the rapport that is established between the analyst and the policy maker. However, in many instances and in countries with large intelligence bureaucracies such as the United States, there is seldom a direct personal link between the de facto analyst and the policy maker. Instead there are intelligence managers[176] and in some instances national intelligence officers, (NIO) who provide the communication link between the two on issues of primary importance such as the Middle East, the former Soviet Union and terrorism.[177]

During the Reagan Administration, National Intelligence Officer Robert Ames, was highly regarded in cabinet circles and was a crucial link between and Secretary of State George Schultz and the CIA. Ames, who was the Agency's foremost Middle East intelligence officer was killed alongside 17 other Americans and 33 State Department employees in the Embassy Explosion in Beirut on April 18, 1983. His death reinforced Schultz's perceptions of the Middle East and his view that U.S. diplomacy in Lebanon had to be backed up with military force.[178] The concept of National Intelligence Officers (NIO) was initiated during the Ford administration. NIOs are specifically responsible for ensuring that the intelligence community remains responsive to the policy makers' needs.[179] This introduces greater complexity into the relationship as there is an additional actor whose personal integrity, characteristics, ambitions and prejudices all have to be taken into account. Within the context of a traditionalist

---

[176] For an overview of the intelligence analyst/manager relationship, see John Gentry, "Intelligence Analyst / Manager Relations at the CIA," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.10, No.4, (October 1995), pp.133-148

[177] For explanations of the functions and responsibilities of National Intelligence Officers, see George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp. 48-49 and John Ranelagh, (1988), op.cit:, p.688

[178] This opinion was expressed by John Walcott, **interview,** Washington DC, on July 17, 1995 and also by Geoffrey Kemp, **interview,** Washington D.C., on July 19, 1995

[179] Kennedy and Brunetta, (1988), op.cit:, p.5

producer - consumer relationship, national intelligence officers have a positive role to play in that they provide a much needed link between intelligence analysts and decision makers.

Intelligence managers play an important role in the producer - consumer linkage. As branch or subject chiefs, they are ultimate arbiters in any analytical disagreements. They have a responsibility to challenge analysis and to ensure its soundness, logical validity and clarity. They are primarily responsible for ensuring that communication between the producers and consumers is effectively managed.[180] The responsibilities commensurate with this position demand that the manager or national intelligence officer is an expert in his field, a good editor and a skilled bureaucrat. The relationship between the analyst and the manager or NIO is susceptible to break-down in the absence of regular interpersonal contact and discussion between them,[181] particularly when the manager makes cryptic or offensive comments on draft reports or is reluctant to inform the analyst that his paper is below standard or irrelevant to a policy issue.[182] In dealing with uncertainty, neither producers or consumers like intelligence gaps. Nevertheless, they are a reality and are often responsible for uncertainties in estimates and analysis. Where such uncertainties are identified any reluctance or inability of analysts to adequately convey the cause and nature of these uncertainties may alienate their consumers and could result in the policy maker assuming the role as his own analyst.

---

[180] The role of intelligence managers was explained to the author by Admiral Stansfield Turner, (retired), former Director of Central Intelligence in an **interview** with the author in Mclean Virginia, July 23, 1995

[181] For a professional overview of the policy maker's attitude towards the producer - consumer relationship and the function of analysis, see Jack Davis, "A Policymaker's Perspective On Intelligence Analysis," Studies in Intelligence, (Internet document) This article features an in-depth interview with U.S. Ambassador Robert D Blackwill, a former NSC Staff Director, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Political-Military Affairs and lecturer at Harvard University's John F Kennedy School of Government on the relationship between intelligence analysts and decision makers.

[182] Comments by Robert Gates, former Director of Central Intelligence during an address to the CIA, McLean Virginia, March16, 1992

Decision makers are usually self-confident individuals who believe that they have achieved their positions in government through what they perceive to be their superior decision making abilities and sound judgement. Decision makers therefore look to intelligence to enhance their decision making skills and to produce a value-added commodity in its analysis and estimates.[183] Therefore only that which is useful, insightful and new is generally absorbed by the policy maker. Where intelligence fails to contribute on that level, it is disregarded by the consumer and only serves to reinforce the policy makers' disdain for intelligence and his opinion that he remains his own best analyst. During crisis situations, when the demand for raw intelligence is acute, erroneous assumptions often emerge. Some consumers believe that professional analysts get in the way, slow the process down and distort incoming information.[184] The result is a tendency for the consumer to disregard the professional analyst in favour of his own decision making during a crisis, particularly in those cases where the consumer is a member or former member of the intelligence community.[185] It is nevertheless at this precise moment when the consumer is least likely to function well as his own analyst. Crisis managers' inability to conduct objective assessments and make dispassionate judgements is usually inverse to the importance of the issue, its intensity and the time that they have at their disposal for dealing with it.[186]

---

[183] See Walter Laqueur, A World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence, (New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1985), pp.93-95 and Thomas Hughes, (1976), op.cit:, p.42

[184] Brigadier Andy Massey (OBE), Former Commander of the SAS during the Gulf War and currently the Director of Defence Systems Limited, in an **interview**, with the author at Buckingham Gate, London, on May 5, 1995

[185] Evidence suggests that former DCI and then President George Bush adopted this strategy. See Andrew Rosenthal, "White House Plans to Sharpen Role in Panama Plots," New York Times, October 13, 1989, p.8 and Maureen Dowd, "2-Summit Plan Reflects Bush Style: Intense (Relaxed) Personal Diplomacy," New York Times, November 6, 1989, p.14

[186] See Mark Lowenthal, "Tribal Tongues: Intelligence Consumers, Intelligence Producers," (1992), op.cit:, p.16

Another factor in the politicisation of intelligence and the producer - consumer linkage, is the tendency for the relationship to deteriorate with time. This is characterised by an initial period of convergence followed by increasing alienation.[187]

The traditionalist approach reinforces the notion amongst those policy makers who, when they find themselves at loggerheads with the facts as presented by the intelligence community, distance themselves from that source of dissention. Not only is this bad policy making practice, however, but ostracising the intelligence community can produce aberrant behaviour on the part of the producer. Under these circumstances producers who succumb to a growing feeling of isolation may be guilty of producing intelligence in search of policy to support. This problem becomes more acute in circumstances where the consumer consistently adopts and displays an attitude of antagonism towards the producer when presented with dissenting or discouraging intelligence. Unfortunately this tendency to "shoot the messenger" often prevails and has a negative effect upon the producer - consumer relationship. Where the activist approach promotes greater interaction between the producer and consumer this interpersonal contact can serve to promote solidarity. A negative implication of this effect, however, is the potential for solidarity to encourage politicisation as the producer develops strong ties with the consumer and identifies increasingly with the consumers' objectives.

Another factor that influences the producer - consumer relationship and politicisation, is the struggle for political control and public accountability of the security and intelligence community by

---

[187] According to a senior long-serving NSC staffer the NSC staff follow a very predictable pattern from administration to administration in their relationship with CIA analysts: "You go through a honeymoon period, and then distancing....In the early days [of the administration] they're sort of dazzled by all the sources that the CIA has to offer. All the classification and secretiveness is very appealing to them, and so they go through an early stage when they're inclined to solicit the views of the intelligence agency. You can almost chart when you've passed between a year to a year and a half. At that point, no matter what their background, they become very confident in their own judgement. Their relationship with CIA analysts is superb when they share the same view. When they don't have the same view, increasingly the CIA guys will get cut out of the picture. Will not even know what's going on." See Kennedy and Brunetta, (1988), op.cit:, p.4

the executive and the legislative bodies of government.[188] In the United States this takes place between the Executive (White House) and Congress. Traditionally congressional oversight is conducted by the House and the Senate intelligence committees on a separate basis, although there have been occasions where a joint House-Senate committee has taken place.[189] From the perspective of the presidential administration and the intelligence community, Congress is generally regarded as an interfering body which not only imposes operational limitations upon policy initiatives, but which cannot be trusted with classified intelligence, particularly prior to the implementation of covert operations. There have been many accusations laid at Congress' door by the CIA and the White House that leaks of sensitive information to the press have originated from Capitol Hill.[190] This was certainly the case during the Reagan Administration when not only was information withheld from Congress by the President, and the NSC, but William Casey was accused of lying to Congress by Senator Barry Goldwater. Casey lied to Congress about the covert operation to mine Nicaraguan waters because he, in turn, distrusted Congress with sensitive information.[191] It can be argued that the executive would prefer congressional efforts

---

[188] See Harry Howe Ransom, "The Politicisation of Intelligence," in Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, pp.25-33. Also Loch K Johnson, A Season of Inquiry: The Senate Intelligence Investigation, (Lexington, Kentucky, The University Press of Kentucky, 1985) and Thomas K Latimer, "United States Intelligence Activities: The Role of Congress," in Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, Uri Ra'anan and Warren Milberg, (eds.), (1981), op.cit:, pp.279-286. See also Stansfield Turner and George Thibault, "Intelligence: The Right Rules," Foreign Policy, No.48, (Fall 1982), p.126

[189] An example of such a joint hearing is the US Congress, Tower Board-NSC Function Hearing, Joint Hearing of the Investigations Subcomittee of the Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives, One Hundredth Congress, April 30, 1987

[190] See John T Elliff, "Congress and the Intelligence Community," in Lawrence C Dodd and Bruce I Oppenheimer, (eds.), Congress Reconsidered, (New York, Praeger, 1977), pp.196-198 and Morris S Ogul, Congress Overseas the Bureaucracy: Studies in Legislative Supervision, (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1976), p.218 and Loch K Johnson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.229-231

[191] See Peter Kornbluh, "The Iran-Contra Scandal: A Post-mortem," World Policy Journal, (Winter 1987-88), pp.129-150. Also the editorial by Tom Teepen, Atlanta Constitution, November 22, 1985. See David B Ottoway and Patrick E Tyler, "New Era of Mistrust Marks Congress' Role," Washington Post, May 19, 1986, pp.1 & 10. See also Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.386-412

to fail and that past Presidents have remained suspicious of intelligence oversight and mistrusted its ability to handle intelligence responsibly.[192]

The environment within which crisis management operates can also be affected by congressional oversight. Congress has often accused the CIA and the White House of withholding notification of presidential findings and covert operations.[193] In analysing the relationship between Congress, the Executive and the American intelligence community, Smist contends that despite Congress having initially antagonised the intelligence community during the Rockefeller, Church, Pike and Boland Committees,[194] that this

---

[192] Richard Valcourt, "Congress and Intelligence Policy," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.2, (1991), p.231. Also David B Ottoway and Patrick E Tyler, "New Era of Mistrust Marks Congress' Role."

[193] For examples of the conflict between the intelligence community, Congress and the Executive, refer to the Church and Pike Committees. See also Frank J Smist, Jr, Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Community 1947-1989, (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1990) and Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, Foreign Policy By Congress, Chapter 5, "Congress Tames The Intelligence Community," (New York, Oxford University Press, 1979), pp.115-134. Also Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA & American Democracy, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989), pp.229-247

[194] Following in the wake of the Watergate Scandal, the Rockefeller Commission report was published on June 6, 1975. This investigation examined the activities of the CIA in relation to illegal activities which violated the rights of private citizens. In a bid to protect the CIA from what he perceived to be partisan interests of the White House and Congress, the then DCI, William Colby, lifted the lid off of the CIA's covert operations including Operation Phoenix, which aroused American public concern over the involvement of the CIA in assassinations. This led to subsequent investigations by both the Senate and the House which undertook reviews of the activities of the intelligence community. With 1976 an election year, both Senators Frank Church and Otis Pike attempted to use their respective committees as a political platform. The Church Committee which published its report in April 1976 examined the role of the intelligence community in domestic activities during the 1960s and 1970s. This committee also examined the CIA's role in covert activity and assassinations and the focus of Congressional oversight switched from monitoring the quality of intelligence products to intelligence activity and the. sensational aspects of intelligence. One of the operations that it examined was the CIA's involvement in Operation Phoenix in Vietnam - run by the late former DCI William Colby. Its sister investigatory committee, the Pike Committee, focused on intelligence management and organisation and the quality of intelligence products. This Committee's impact was undermined, however, when excerpts of the report that was published on January 29, 1976, were released in advance to the Village Voice by CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr. In 1983, the Boland Committee which investigated the involvement of the CIA in Central America, resulted in the Boland Ammendment, an attachment to the 1983 Intelligence Appropriations Bill that prohibited the CIA and the Defence Intelligence Community from providing any financial assistance for equipment, training or any other support activity to the Nicaraguan Contras. See John Ranelagh, (1988), op.cit:, pp.585-599. See also Bruce Watson, Susan Watson and Gerald Hopple (eds.), United States Intelligence. An Encyclopaedia, (New York, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990), pp.48, 87 & 441. See also U.S. Congress. Senate Final Report of the Senate Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities Report 94-755, (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1976) and Scott D Breckinridge, The CIA and the U.S. Intelligence System, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1986) and Mark M Lowenthal, U.S.

relationship has stabilised and serves as an effective oversight mechanism and devil's advocacy of intelligence and foreign policy issues.[195] In reality, however, the motives behind Congressional oversight committees have done little to dispel fears on the part of the intelligence community that individual U.S. Senators, such as Frank Church and Otis Pike. Where a political party is privy to sensitive information which can be used to frustrate and embarrass the opposition, the organisation which is the source of such "political ammunition", will be coveted, manipulated and thus inevitably politicised. In the absence of any clear-cut understanding on the role and function of intelligence by the players involved, intelligence may be used as the proverbial political football. According to Angelo Codevilla: "clearly the question of what the United States expects of its intelligence services has not been answered with intellectual authority by those who have the political authority to do so."[196] Codevilla's observation implies that political entities have focused upon exacting the maximum partisan political leverage out of intelligence oversight instead of resolving the issue over the function of intelligence. The relationship is less problematical in the case where the consumer is not a policy maker, but an active user of intelligence such as military and law enforcement officers who use intelligence for operational purposes. In this instance the relationship between the producer and consumer is much closer because the consumer is dependent upon intelligence for the successful outcome of an operation. In many instances, military or law enforcement operations are initiated and carried out as a direct result of

---

Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy, (New York, Praeger, 1984) and William Corson, The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire, (New York, Dial Press, 1977)

[195] Frank J Smist, Jr, Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Community 1947-1989, (Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1990) and Ernest Lefever and Roy Godson, The CIA and the American Ethic: An Unfinished Debate, (Washington D.C., Ethics and Public Policy Centre, Georgetown University, 1979)

[196] See Angelo Codevilla, Washington Quarterly, as cited in Richard Valcourt, (1991), op.cit:, p.224

intelligence that has come to light. This is particularly true with regards to counter terrorism, counter insurgency and narcotics.[197]

It can be argued that during crisis situations as the intelligence community provides raw intelligence in support of the crisis management team, the opportunities for politicisation are reduced. This can be attributed to the lack of time available for evaluation, interpretation and the opportunity for institutional bias to prevail. The danger lies in the use of estimative intelligence where those estimates have been pre-ordained and politicised to support a particular slant or promote a specific policy line. A worst case scenario is when the consumer deliberately shuts the producer out of the decision making loop, effectively cutting the intelligence community off from the executive and its objectives. The result is the inevitable dysfunction in policy implementation that reflects the dangers inherent when the traditionalist approach is applied to intelligence and crisis management.

2.4 Conclusion

Like the Matryoshka Doll approach each of the case studies illustrate different yet complimentary facets of the producer - consumer relationship at various levels in the Reagan Administration. They reveal the key factors which affected adherence to the principles of crisis management and the intelligence process by the administration in Lebanon. The case studies demonstrate how the political system responded to the demands placed on it by a series of terrorist attacks which affected the ability of the administration to respond in a structured fashion and how the intelligence process

[197] For pertinent examples of where tactical intelligence played a vital role in military operations see Bruce Hoffman, (et.al.), Lessons for Contemporary Insurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report, R-3998-A, 1991), pp.28-37 and 91

malfunctioned. They provide an insight into the consequences of the traditionalist and activist approaches when applied to intelligence management and the producer - consumer relationship.

This chapter has shown how intelligence interacts with all the principles of crisis management and is a necessary activity that is prevalent throughout the crisis management process. Not only is it an essential element reflected in all the other management principles, but intelligence is a fundamental necessity that provides information upon which policy decisions should be based. It is therefore an essential tool in decision making. It is an instrument that can be used by decision makers to gauge the expected resistance to policy objectives and the success of initiatives that have been implemented. Furthermore, intelligence is an aid in the use of force against an adversary in that it provides information on the amount of force that is required and where it should be applied to achieve an objective.

While it is accepted that the function of intelligence is to provide vital information to facilitate decisions towards the security and prosperity of the state, it must be recognised that although intelligence is but one source of decision making input available to policy makers, it is nevertheless the most important. What sets it apart from other sources of information is that intelligence derives its strength and importance from the fact that it is usually based on secret information acquired by the intelligence services from well placed sources and that it is presented in context of the consumer's objectives. Intelligence is necessary in determining which objectives are possible and in limiting those objectives to the critical few. In order to apply the minimum amount of force against an adversary, intelligence supports tactical initiatives and provides feedback on their success or failure against the adversary.

The tension between intelligence and crisis management occurs when intelligence is used in support of counter terrorism. In this instance the need to protect intelligence sources and methods is

juxtaposed with the need to provide evidence for prosecution purposes. Towards creating contingency capabilities, intelligence is indispensible in game theory and scenario forecasting. Contingency planning helps decision makers to identify where there are specific intelligence shortcomings and to task the intelligence community more effectively in advance of foreseeable crises. Just as intelligence is the prerequisite for decision making, communication is essential for the effective distribution of intelligence. Intelligence and its swift communication is essential and is the lynch-pin of crisis management. The communication of ideas and objectives is necessary between allies and adversaries during crises in order to avoid any misunderstanding. In this regard, intelligence is an aid in the evaluation of communication and information that is received from third parties. As a source of institutional knowledge, background and analysis, intelligence assists decision makers from implementing decisions that are liable to create precedents or situations that can undermine or invalidate existing agreements between actors. This chapter has also explained why there is an inherent tension between intelligence and the media. The media which is often a source of overt information for intelligence analysts and decision makers, is a competitor for the attention of the decision maker. This places greater pressure on the intelligence community to acquire better placed sources and to surpass the media in its importance by providing the decision maker with secret information on the adversary's capabilities and intentions and to place media reports into policy perspectives. In his testimony before the U.S. Commission on the roles and capabilities of the intelligence community, Joseph S Nye Jr, argued that:

> I think the challenge for Current intelligence is to ask what's our value-added that CNN doesn't do? And the challenge for Estimative intelligence is what's out value added that the economist or the financial times doesn't do? ...one thing that the intelligence analysis can do, estimated intelligence analysis, is distill this information in ways that are relevant to the policymaker, bring it to the point that the policymaker needs.[198]

The case study that examines the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 explores the tension between the media, intelligence and crisis management. Unlike the media who serve the public interest, intelligence serves the policy maker. Where the media usually decides what is in the public interest, however, the intelligence services are tasked by the decision makers to collect and report on specific issues. This can render the intelligence community vulnerable to manipulation or politicisation which is done by steering it towards a specific subject or phrasing the intelligence questions in such a manner as to shape the answers and analysis. This is demonstrated in the case studies that follow.

[198] See the testimony of Joseph S Nye Jr, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

Chapter 3

THE BOMBING OF THE U.S. EMBASSY ON APRIL 18, 1983 AND THE MARINE BARRACKS ON OCTOBER 23, 1983

> Whereas "war is a continuation of politics by other means," terrorism is a method of waging war by other means.[1]

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the Reagan Administration's response to two terrorist incidents which resulted in crises for the administration during their foreign policy initiatives in Lebanon. These incidents are the suicide truck-bomb attacks against the U.S. embassy in Beirut on April 18, 1983 and the U.S. Marine Battalion Landing Team (BLT) barracks, at Beirut international airport on October 23, 1983. Starting with the third crisis management principle, the intelligence imperative, the study demonstrates why these events presented the U.S. government with a dilemma. It shows how the Reagan Administration failed to implement any of the crisis management principles in its response to these acts of aggression which were carried out in opposition to its objectives in Lebanon. By examining the manner in which intelligence was used prior to and after these events, the study examines the relationship between the intelligence community and its consumers and how intelligence affects decision making during crises. The section on the intelligence imperative, incorporates the discussion of the crisis management principles of limiting objectives and limiting the means in the pursuit of those objectives. The chapter then examines the remaining crisis

[1] This comment was made by Martin and Walcott and is an adaptation from the well-known statement by Clausewitz. See Andreas Rapoport, Clausewitz:On War, (London, Penguin, 1994), p.119 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.109

management principles and the role of intelligence in relation to these principles and the case studies.

3.1.1 Background to the Lebanon problem

> During the Cold War, we took a look at regional disputes. The main aim was to prevent them from escalating into great power confrontations. Sure, we looked at nonproliferation issues, but those were overshadowed by the threat of nuclear Armageddon. Even terrorism had an ideological content to it.[2]

Under President Reagan, Secretary of State George Schultz sought to maintain the momentum of the Israeli-Egypt peace agreement by restoring peace between Israel, Lebanon and Syria. The security objectives of Israel and Syria in Lebanon, however, became a major problem for the Reagan Administration as they demonstrated that policy initiatives cannot be implemented in isolation of other actors.[3] Whereas Syria regarded Lebanon as a greater part of its territory,[4] Israel was also involved in Lebanon as it habitually carried out reprisal attacks against the PLO and Hizb'allah terrorists who often launched attacks across Israel's northern border.[5]

---

[2] See the testimony of Frank Carlucci, former NSA and Secretary of Defence, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

[3] See George Ball, Error and Betrayal in Lebanon: An Analysis of Israel's Invasion of Lebanon and the Implications for U.S.- Israeli Relations, (Washington, D.C., The Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984) and Julian S Peck, The Reagan Administration and the Palestinian Question, (Washington D.C., Institute for Palestine Studies, 1984) and Michael Jansen, The Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded Lebanon, (Boston, Mass., South End Press, 1983)

[4] See Noam Chomsky, The Fateful Triangle, (Boston, Massachusetts, South End Press, 1983) and Adeed Dawisha, "The Motives of Syria's Involvement in Lebanon," Middle East Journal, Vol.38, (Spring 1984), pp.228-236 and R Neumann, "Asad and the Future of the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, Vol.62, (Winter 1983), pp.237-256

[5] For the reasons behind the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 see Ariel Sharon, "Israel's Strategic Problems in the Eighties," An address by the Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon for delivery at the Institute for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, December 14, 1981. See also Ze'ev Schiff, "Green Light, Lebanon," Foreign Policy, (Spring 1983) and Ze'ev Schiff, and Ehud Ya'ari, Israel's Lebanon War, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1984)

This often brought Israeli and Syrian forces into contact in Lebanon and resulted in increasing tension between the two countries. Lebanon was caught in the middle and matters were made worse by the warring factions that comprised its population, many of whom were proxy forces of Syria, Israel and later of Iran.[6] The U.S. were concerned that the on-going tension would lead to war between Israel and Syria which would inevitably involve America and the Soviet Union.[7] This fear grew when Israel invaded Lebanon in 1982, which resulted in the withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut and in clashes between Israeli and Syrian forces in and around Beirut. The U.S. became involved as its Middle East envoy, Phillip Habib, attempted to broker a ceasefire.[8] It also resulted in American forces being deployed in Beirut to guarantee the safety of the PLO as it withdrew. Later, the U.S. was forced to re-deploy the Marines to Beirut following the Sabra and Shatilla massacres, as part of a larger multi-national peacekeeping force.[9] When the Israeli forces withdrew from Beirut, the U.S. found itself faced with the daunting task of trying to restore the Lebanese government while the different factions fought for control over the high ground, the Shouf mountains, that had been occupied by the Israeli forces.[10] The Israeli withdrawal

---

[6] See Naomi Weinberger, "Peacekeeping Operations in Lebanon," Middle East Journal, Vol.37, (Summer 1983), pp.341-369 and Lewis W Snider, "The Lebanese Forces: Their Origins and Role in Lebanon's Politics," Middle East Journal, Vol.38, (Winter, 1984), pp.1-33

[7] U.S. Congress. U.S. Policy Towards Lebanon and Rehabilitation Assistance. Hearings and Markup before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and its Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, June 22 and July 13, and 15, 1982. See also U.S. Congress. Committee on Foreign Relatins. An Overview of the Middle East Situation. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, September 10, 1982

[8] See Robert H Gromoll, Negoriations on Troop Withdrawals from Lebanon: The May 1983 Accord, (Georgetown, Washington D.C., The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Pew Case Study No.310, 1992) and Barry Rubin and laura Blum, The May 1983 Agreement Over Lebanon, (Georgetown, Washington D.C., The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University, Pew Case Study No.312, 1992)

[9] U.S. Congress. Committee on Armed Services. The Use of U.S. Military Personnel in Lebanon and Consideration of Report from September 24-25 of Committee Delegation from Lebanon. Committee on Armed Services, 98th Congress, 1st Session, September 27 and 28, 1983 and U.S. Congress. Authorisation for U.S. Marines in Lebanon. Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations, 97th Congress, 2nd Session, September 10, 1983

created a power vacuum which precipitated another civil war and set the scene for the Reagan Administration's involvement in the Lebanese crisis.[11]

While trying to resolve the crisis, however, a number of terrorist incidents exacerbated the situation for the U.S. These attacks frustrated the administration while exposing its vulnerability and inability to deal effectively with crisis situations in the third world.[12] The environment in the Middle East projected the U.S. out of its conventional orbit of crisis management and war avoidance with its primary adversary, the Soviet Union, and forced the administration to deal with an unconventional threat where terrorism was used as a means to wage war by proxy.[13]

Terrorism had a major impact upon the Reagan Administration and on Alexander Haig as a result of his personal experience when he survived an assassination attempt against him by the Red Army Faction in Belgium. Ronald Reagan, Haig and William Casey were also heavily influenced by the work of journalist Claire Stirling whose book, *The Terror Network* convinced them that international terrorism was being orchestrated by the Soviet Union as part of their strategy of destabilisation and Soviet imperialism.[14] For the Reagan

---

[10] See Robert Fisk, Pity the Nation: Lebanon at War, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992)

[11] For an overview of the background to the Reagan Administration's involvement in Lebanon, see Thomas Friedman, From Beirut to Jerusalem, (New York, Farrar Straus Giroux,1989)

[12] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.50 and "A New War - And New Risks," US News & World Report, April 28, 1986, pp.20-21. See also Ambassador Bruce Laingen, "U.S. Options to Combat International Terrorism," Policy Forum, Vol.III, No.4, (May 1986), pp.1-4

[13] For an overview of the turmoil caused by terrorism during the First Reagan Administration in the Middle East see the following: David Martin and John Walcott, Best Laid Plans: The Inside Story of America's War Against Terrorism, (New York, Harper & Row,1988) and Eric Hammel, The Root: The Marines in Beirut August 1982 - February 1984, (New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers,1985) and John Mackinlay, The Peacekeepers, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989) and Thomas Friedman, (1989), op.cit:, and Stansfield Turner, Terrorism and Democracy, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1991)

[14] See Alexander Haig, Caveat, Realism, Reagan and Foreign Policy, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1984) and Claire Sterling, The Terror Network (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981) and Herbert Romerstein, Soviet Support for International Terrorism, (Washington D.C., The Foundation for Democratic Education, Inc., 1981) This aspect is dealt with in greater detail in the first case study.

Administration, preventing international terrorism was tantamount to containing the Soviet Union. However, this created an inherent tension between counter-terrorism and foreign policy. By approaching the phenomenon of terrorism from the perspective of state-sponsorship the administration tended to overlook the fact that terrorist organisations, and certainly those that operated in Lebanon, were sub-state actors who exercised a will of their own.[15] Consequently the Reagan Administration's response was based on retaliating against those states that were perceived to be sponsors of terrorism.[16] This brought the administration's counter-terrorist policy into direct conflict with its foreign policy objectives of seeking rapprochement with those states, such as Syria and Iran, that it believed held the key to unlocking U.S. strategic objectives in the region.[17]

The phenomenon of terrorism combined with the almost instantaneous media coverage necessitated a total revision of crisis response strategy. Direct transmission of terrorist events to millions of viewers across the world exerts pressure on crisis managers to exercise greater caution in their response initiatives. This has a direct bearing on the second and fifth principles of crisis management. It reinforces the norms that restraint must be exercised in the use of

---

[15] See Brett A McCrea, "U.S. Counter-Terrorist Policy: A Proposed Strategy for a Non-traditional Threat," Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement, Vol.3, No3, (Winter 1994). See also Iran's Use of International Terrorism, Special Report No.170, United States Department of State, (Washington D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, 1987) and Richard W Cottam, "U.S. and Soviet Responses to Islamic Political Militancy," in Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (eds.), (1990), op.cit:, pp.265-268 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1989), op.cit:, p.46 Also Charles G Cogan, "The Response of the Strong to the Weak: The American Raid on Libya, 1986," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.6, No.3, (1991), pp.608-620

[16] This appraisal of the U.S. government's response to terrorism and its focus on State Actors, was provided by Noel Koch a former NSC official and Pentagon counter-terrorism expert during the Reagan Administration, in a **telephone interview** with the author on February 21, 1996. The same sentiments were expressed by Geoffrey Kemp, a former senior member of the NSC staff during the Reagan Administration, in an **interview** with the author on July 19, 1995 in Washington D.C.

[17] See Howard Teicher, Twin Pillars to Desert Storm: America's Flawed Vision in the Middle East, (New York, William Morrow & Company Inc, 1993)

force and that actors must strive to maintain legitimacy for their actions. This places a tremendous responsibility on the shoulders of those organisations and individuals who carry out counter-terrorist policy and operations. Because the transmission of events and the response to them takes place almost instantaneously, the officers at the scene are therefore in a position to either bring discredit to the government or to portray it in a positive light. In the words of Col. Robert Leicht, "The CNN effect means that individual actions can result in international repercussions which places greater pressure on military officers and men on the ground."[18] Whereas U.S. military doctrine was geared towards fighting conventional warfare, the Lebanon crisis compelled policy makers and military commanders to deal with the use of military instruments of statecraft in circumstances other than war.[19] The nature of terrorism places greater demands on the intelligence organisations involved. As former U.S. Attorney William Barr observes:

> Terrorism I think is going to continue to be a greater, because again, technology enables mass murder, and weapons of mass destruction, to be developed and used by small zealot groups. Keeping track of them is very hard, and dealing with them is very, very difficult, so that's why I said at the outset I think the intelligence challenge today is, paradoxically, more difficult in many ways than it was at the height of the Cold War. It's a lot easier to keep track of missiles and silos.[20]

---

[18] For an explanation of the CNN effect see Tom Rosenstiel, "The Myth of CNN," The New Republic, Supplement, August 22, 1994, pp.23-27. This explanation of the effects of televised media coverage of international events and U.S. military response was made by Col. Robert Leicht, aide to the Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Special Operations Command (US-SOC), during a seminar presentation at the University of St Andrews on May 17, 1996. For additional insight see Steve Molloy and Charles R Schwenk, "The Effects of Information Technology on Strategic Decision Making," Journal of Management Science, Vol.23, No.3, (May 1995), pp.283-311 and Yoel Cohen, Media Diplomacy: The Foreign Office in the Mass Communications Age, (London, Frank Cass, 1989), pp.118-125

[19] For an in-depth overview on the implications of non-conventional military operations on U.S. armed forces, see Jennifer Morrison Taw and Bruce Hoffman, "Operations Other Than War," in Paul Davis, (ed.), New Challenges. For Defense Planning, (Santa Monica, California, Rand, 1994), pp.223-248

[20] See the testimony of William Barr, Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., Friday January 19, 1996

During the Reagan Administration, however, this concept was not fully understood or supported, least of all by one of the most crucial individuals, the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger. The quest for legitimacy was one of the fundamental reasons behind the bureaucratic crisis in the Reagan Administration. Weinberger and the Joint Chief of Staff were adamant that they did not want to commit U.S. military forces to support diplomacy in the Middle East without the approval and support of the American public and Congress.[21] Emerging from the humiliation of the Vietnam era, and the failure of the military rescue mission in Iran,[22] Weinberger and the Pentagon were struggling to restore public faith and confidence in the U.S. military establishment. Consequently, Weinberger was loathe to involve or commit U.S. armed forces to any objective that could undermine public faith in the military, other than an all out war. This was the source of the institutional conflict that created disagreements over how to implement policy and that prevailed between Weinberger and the military on the one hand, and George Schultz and the State Department on the other.

Inspired by Henry Kissinger, as well as by the momentum of the Carter administration's success at Camp David and the peace accord between Israel and Egypt, the Reagan Administration pursued ambitious objectives with regards to expanding the peace process in the Middle East.[23] This was especially the case with regard to Lebanon. It believed that conflict between Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Syria posed a threat to Middle East peace and would provide an excuse for Soviet intervention.[24]

---

[21] See Caspar Weinberger, Fighting For Peace: Seven Critical Years in the Pentagon, (New York, Warner Books, 1991), p.454

[22] For an overview of the failure of the U.S. rescue mission to Teheran, see John Martin and David Walcott, (1988) op.cit:, pp.6-42 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.132-145

[23] See the comments by Henry Kissinger, "My Lebanon Solution," Middle East Focus, No.5, (July 1982), p.3

[24] See Helena Cobban, The Superpowers and the Syrian-Israeli Conflict: Beyond Crisis Management? (New York, Praeger, 1991), pp.83-84 and Raymond Tanter, Who's At The

When the U. S. committed their Marines to Beirut in September 1982, it was intent upon ending the civil war, banishing the Syrian and Israeli armies of occupation and re-establishing the Lebanese government under Christian leadership.[25] The objective behind the deployment of the Marines in Beirut was the U.S. contribution towards the Multi-National Force (MNF) that comprised of American, French, British and Italian forces to oversee the evacuation from Beirut of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO).[26] For President Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig, the Arab-Israeli conflict was not their central issue of concern in the Middle East, but was part of their broader strategic objective which was to prevent Soviet penetration of the economically and strategically vital oil-rich Persian Gulf.[27] Iran which was in a post-revolutionary upheaval arguably presented the Soviets with another opportunity (like Afghanistan) for military intervention in the region.[28] Understandably the U.S. sought to consolidate its supply of Middle East oil,[29] extend its influence and demonstrate its capacity for

---

Helm, Lessons of Lebanon, (Oxford, Westview Press, 1990), p.45, and William B Quandt, Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict since 1976, (Los Angeles, University of California Press,1993), pp.335-350 and "Defense Chief Weinberger on Peace Prospects Now," U.S. News & World Report, September 27, 1982, pp.26-28 and Nimrod Nivok, Encounter with Reality: Reagan and the Middle East (The First Term), (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press for the Jaffee Cntre for Strategic Studies, 1985), pp.86-88

[25] The Reagan Administration De-classified National Security Council Document in terms of the Freedom of Information Act, National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) Number 103, September 10, 1983 Strategy for Lebanon, which reaffirms the Reagan Administration's Lebanon policy. See also Dan Tschirgi, The American Search For Middle East Peace, (New York, Praeger, 1989), p.159. Also Martin Indyke, "Reagan and the Middle East: Learning the Art of the Impossible," SAIS Review, The Johns Hopkins University, (Winter-Spring 1987), Vol.7, No.1, pp.121-122

[26] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:. p.43 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.88

[27] William Zartman, "The Power of American Purposes," Middle East Journal, Vol.XXXV, 1981, pp.163-165

[28] See Dan Tschirgi, The American Search for Mideast Peace, (New York, Praeger, 1989), pp.146-147 and see George Schultz's statement read before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on September 10, 1982 "Middle East Peace Initiative," published in the Department of State Bulletin, Vol.82, No 2067 (October 1982), pp.5-7. See also the New York Times, March 8, 1981 and April 9, 1981

[29] For an overview of U.S. interests in Middle East oil supplies, see Melvin A Conant, The Oil Factor in U.S. Foreign Policy, 1980-1990, (Lexington, Massachusetts, Lexington Books,1982) and Eliyahu Kanovsky, "U.S. Economic Interests in the Middle East," in Steven

taking forceful and resolute action internationally.[30] It also wanted to eradicate the "Vietnam Syndrome" which had stifled foreign policy initiative, while at the same time containing Soviet influence in the region.[31] This syndrome is a term used to describe the general state of mind and lack of confidence on the part of the public and bureaucracy in U.S. military and political capabilities following America's involvement in the protracted war in Vietnam.[32] The U.S. emerged from that war with its confidence badly shaken.[33] This had a direct impact upon the Carter administration and America's military credibility[34] which was further undermined by the unsuccessful rescue attempt of the U.S. hostages in Iran.[35] From America's vantage point, protecting the Persian Gulf against Soviet penetration entailed

---

Spiegel, Mark Heller and Jacob Goldberg (eds.), The Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East, (Los Angeles, Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of Clifornia, 1988), pp.203-219

[30] See Brian Crozier, "Reagan and Israel," National Review, No.34, p.1268, (October 15, 1982) and David Ignatius, "How to Rebuild Lebanon," Foreign Affairs No.61, Summer 1983, pp.1140-1156 and Robert G Neumann, "U.S. Middle East Policy," Washington Quarterly, No.6, (Spring 1983), pp.199-208

[31] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.43, also Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, pp192-196 and Patrick Seale, Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East, (London, IB Taurus & Co. Ltd, 1988), pp.401-402

[32] The Vietnam Syndrome is the term used to describe the reason for reluctance on the part of American administrations to embark upon any foreign policy or military initiatives without the whole-hearted support of the American people and Congress. The absence of this support has been attributed as one of the primary causes for the American defeat in Vietnam. After Vietnam, this syndrome extended beyond the Pentagon and affected the intelligence community with the controversy over Operation Phoenix and thereafter the disclosures made by William Colby with regard to CIA covert operations. The CIA emerged from the Vietnam era with its integrity tarnished and a great reluctance to become involved in covert operations against insurgencies and terrorism. These obesrvations were made by Noel Koch, during a **telephone interview** with the author on February 21, 1996.

[33] See Jimmy Carter, Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President, (New York, Bantam Books, 1982), pp.18, 120, 125 & 143.

[34] For an overview of the effects of the Vietnam War and the subsequent split in the U.S. domestic opinion over foreign policy, see Kenneth A Oye, "The Domain of Choice: International Constraints and the Carter Administration Foreign Policy," in Kenneth A Oye, Donald Rothchild and Robert J Lieber, (eds.), Eagle Entangled: U.S. Foreign Policy in a Complex World, (New York, Longman, 1979), pp.5-7 and pp.20-32. See also Michael Mandelbaum and William Schneider, "The New Internationalisms: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy," in Kenneth A Oye, Donald Rothchild and Robert J Lieber, (eds.), (1979), op.cit:, pp.34-86

[35] For an overview of the U.S. failure and Operation Desert One, see Stansfield Turner, Terrorism & Democracy, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1991), pp.115-125 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.8-42 and Jimmy Carter, (1982), op.cit:, pp:503-522

several requirements: propagating U.S. interests in the Middle East so that they would be evident to the Soviets and its allies; convincing Arab states of America's commitment to their security; and ensuring that U.S. opposition and resolve towards radical forces in the region would not be doubted. These objectives produced two secondary objectives. The first was a determined effort to create a viable anti-Soviet bloc in the Middle East. The other was to prevent secondary and lesser important issues from detracting from the administration's efforts to promote the desired anti-Communist grouping. With these strategic objectives uppermost in their minds, the administration initially disregarded the implications of regional dynamics and the civil war in Beirut. This failure was caused through faulty perspective more so than a lapse in logic.

Their strategy of restricting Soviet influence although in itself coherent, led to futile attempts to impose abstract Cold War premises on the dynamics of the Israeli-Arab conflict and the civil war in Beirut. One and a half years later, the administration withdrew the Marines in defeat, Beirut was in flames and over 250 Americans were dead, most of them victims of humiliating and devastating terrorist attacks.[36] This was the highest number of Americans who had been killed in an attack since the Vietnam War and the highest number killed in a single bomb attack since the Second World War.[37]

On April 18, 1983 Shi'ite terrorists attacked the U.S. embassy in West Beirut.[38] The truck-bomb exploded in the portico of the building directly beneath the offices utilised by Robert Ames, the National Intelligence Officer for the Middle East, and Kenneth Haas, the CIA chief of station in Beirut. Seven out of the nine CIA officers stationed in Beirut were killed in the attack.[39] Ames was one of George

---

[36] See Jim Muir, "The Stark Options Facing Reagan And Gemayel," Middle East International, No.218, (February 10, 1984), pp.3-5

[37] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:. p.515

[38] For an overview of the incident see Eric Hammel, (1985), op.cit:. pp.77-83 and Thomas L Friedman, (1989), op.cit:. p.198

Schultz's principal advisors and his death robbed the Secretary of State of an important source of objective judgement at a critical moment during their policy implementation in Lebanon.[40]

Ames' death also delivered a serious blow to the decision making capabilities of the National Security Council staff.[41] Ironically Ames, who was the CIA's most qualified and trusted Middle East analyst, was investigating the activities of Palestinian and Shi'ite terrorism at the time when he was killed.[42] Stansfield Turner argues that it is not known whether the deaths of the CIA officers was deliberate planning on the part of the terrorists or merely a coincidence.[43] It is a fact, however, that Hizb'allah enjoyed extensive support from Iranian intelligence who could have identified Ames as a potential target and passed on that information to Hizb'allah.[44]

---

[39] See Dilip Hiro, Lebanon Fire and Embers: A History of the Lebanese Civil War, (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1993), p.96 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.109 See also the Times, October 24, 1983

[40] Vincent Cannistraro, former CIA National Intelligence Officer and NSC staff member responsible for Middle East terrorism, in an **interview**, with the author on July 21, 1995, in McLean Virginia. See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp. 48-49, 50, 52, 86, 90, 93, 108 & 432 also Patrick Seale, (1988), op.cit:, p.406 and Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, Dangerous Liaison: The Inside Story of the U.S.-Israeli Covert Relationship and the International Activities it has Served to Conceal, (London, The Bodley Head, 1992), p.334

[41] See Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, (1992), op.cit:, p.334 and Geoffrey Kemp, "Lessons of Lebanon: A Guideline for Future U.S. Policy," Middle East Insight, Vol.VI, No.I, (Summer 1988), p.61

[42] These views were expressed by Howard Teicher former senior NSC Middle East staff member, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on October 23, 1995 and were also confirmed by Graham Fuller, in the **telephone interview**, on October 28, 1995

[43] See Stansfield Turner, Terrorism and Democracy, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1991), p. 162

[44] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.120

3.2 The intelligence imperative

Prior to these two events, American intelligence in the Middle East, and Lebanon in particular, had suffered a number of setbacks. As early as January 1979 the CIA and Ames had lost their principal intelligence asset and informant, Ali Hassan Salameh, the PLO security chief and close confidante of Yasser Arafat.[45] Salameh, who was reported to be responsible for the Munich Olympics attack,[46] was assassinated by an Israeli car bomb which inadvertently or perhaps, quite deliberately, deprived the CIA of their primary link with Arafat and the PLO.[47] With the Israeli invasion and the expulsion of the PLO from Beirut in August 1982, the CIA lost more of their principal sources in the Middle East. Consequently their access to intelligence information on terrorism declined substantially at a crucial moment in time as Lebanese Shi'ite radicals were rapidly transforming themselves into a formidable confessional player and terrorist organisation under the auspices of the Hizb'allah movement.[48]

The attacks highlighted the universal dissatisfaction with the performance of U.S. intelligence in Lebanon; policymakers felt increasingly ill-served, and analysts, for their part, felt inadequately utilised.[49] Both sides agreed, albeit for different reasons that

---

[45] For more details on Salameh, see Michael Bar-Zohar in Eitan Haber, The Quest for the Red Prince: The Inside Story of Israel's Relentless Manhunt for one of the World's Deadliest and Most Wanted Arab Terrorists, (New York, William Morrow, 1983) and David Ignatius, Agents of Innocence, (London, W H Allen & Co, 1988) Althgough Ignatuis' work is a book of 'faction', it is nevertheless based on the relationship between Salameh, the CIA and in particular Robert Ames

[46] See Peter Taylor, States of Terror: Democracy and Political Violence, (London, BBC Books, 1993), p.13 and James Adams, The New Spies: Exploring the Frontiers of Espionage, (London, Hutchinson, 1994), pp.140-141

[47] See Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, (1992), op.cit:, p.334 and Jillian Becker, The PLO: The Rise and Fall of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, (London, Wiedenfeld & Nicolson Ltd, 1984), p.273 and Peter Taylor, (1993), op.cit:, pp.62, 171 & 191 and Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.288

[48] Howard Teicher former senior NSC Middle East staff member, during a **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995; and Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995. See also David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.109 and See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.287-289 and Robert S Dudney and Jeff Trimble, "Spying on Terrorists - It's a Tall Order," U.S. News & World Report, July 8, 1985, p.30

intelligence was not fulfilling its role.[50] The Marine Commander, Lt. Col. Donald Anderson, complained that,

> ...the missing element in the protection of the marines in Beirut was the deficiency in intelligence with the biggest shortcoming the inability of the marines to gauge the feelings and emotions of the local population on the ground.[51]

Within the U.S. the perception prevailed that American intelligence had failed twice in succession to identify and locate terrorists who were responsible for attacks against American interests. The media alleged that the Reagan Administration lost the ability to retaliate because the intelligence community was unable to provide information of the identities of the perpetrators and their exact locations.[52] This allegation was reinforced by the opinions voiced in public by Vice President George Bush, Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger and General John Vessey the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who stated that they were unwilling to embark upon any retaliatory missions under circumstances where there could have been any death or injury caused to to innocent persons. Matters were made worse by the French response to the bombing of their embassy when they conducted reprisal air raids against terrorist targets in the Bekaa Valley.[53] The Pentagon and Caspar Weinberger, however, remained reluctant to retaliate with military force because of the inherent danger of incurring

---

[49] See David Kennedy, "Lebanon and the Intelligence Community," Kennedy School of Government, (Case Study C15-88-859.0,1988), p.1

[50] See William Lee, "Pointing Fingers at Everyone," Middle East International No.211, (October 28, 1983), pp.4-5

[51] David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.108

[52] See David Hoffman, "Reagan Ties Beirut Attack to Curb on Intelligence," Washington Post, September 27, 1984 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.165-166

[53] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.166 and Caspar Weinberger, (1991), op.cit:, p.161 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.132-139 and Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, p.267

unacceptable losses in innocent lives. Part of their frustration was aimed at the intelligence community. This was because intelligence could not guarantee that there would be no casualties among innocent individuals if the terrorists were attacked by U.S. forces at any time. That concern sparked off controversy among the principal cabinet members. It resulted in a public argument between Schultz, who was in favour of using force to respond to terrorism, and Weinberger, who was against the use of force.[54] Their public disagreement demonstrated to Hizb'allah, Iran and Syria, that the United States did not have the political cohesiveness and will to respond to terrorism with force.[55] The result was that intelligence took the blame for a policy on terrorism that was unrealistic. The criticism levelled at the intelligence community only served to reveal a problem of greater magnitude, which was the difference in opinion within the cabinet over how best to respond to the attacks and the phenomenon of terrorism.

With its focus on the phenomenon of terrorism, one of the biggest problems that faced the intelligence community and the administration was arriving at an agreed upon definition of terrorism and international terrorism.[56] Wilkinson and Schultz define four types of terrorism: war, revolutionary, state and sub-revolutionary terrorism. Revolutionary terrorism is defined as, "...violence employed by revolutionary movements and groups as a means of initiating a vicious cycle of terror and counter-terror intended to alienate the population from the target government with the objective of achieving a political revolution or change."[57] State terrorism is defined as, "...the

---

[54] Caspar Weinberger, (1991), op.cit:, p.161. See also Jeffrey D Simon, The Terrorist Trap, (Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1994)

[55] See "Schultz vs. Weinberger - When to Use U.S. Power," U.S. News & World Report, December 24, 1984, pp.20-21. Also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.649-651 and The Wall Street Journal, October 30, 1984 and the New York Times, December 3, 1984

[56] See Ray Cline and Yonah Alexander, (1986) op.cit:, p.25

[57] See Paul Wilkinson, "Three Questions on Terrorism," Government and Opposition, No.8, (Summer 1973), pp.298-299

threat and or the employment of extranormal forms of political violence, in varying degrees, by an established political system against both internal and external opposition."[58] The U.S. government defined international terrorism as, "...the threat or use of violence for political purposes by individuals or groups, whether acting for, or in opposition to, established governmental authority, when such actions are intended to influence a target group wider than the immediate victim or victims."[59] It also defines international terrorism as, "...terrorism conducted with the support of a foreign government or organisation and / or directed against foreign nationals, institutions or governments."[60] Hoffman has identified two major types of terrorism; secular and religious terrorism. According to Hoffman, secular groups tend to calibrate their attacks with more operational caution as they see terrorism as a means to an end. They are subject to greater moral restraint as opposed to religious groups who are motivated by their perceptions of *divine right*. This often results in terrorism becoming an end in itself for religious groups.[61] A factor which makes religious groups even more complex to deal with is if they are state-sponsored such as Hizb'allah and Amal.[62] State sponsored terrorism introduces more complex dynamics into crises as the targeted authorities are compelled to contend with the demands and objectives of multiple adversaries. In the case of Iran and Hizb'allah, the former being the sponsor, the nature of their close co-operation was demonstrated by the transfer of William Buckley, the kidnapped

---

[58] See Edward Mickolus, "What Constitutes State Support of Terrorists?", in Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.1, No.3, (July 1989), pp. 287-293 and Richard Schultz, "Conceptualising Political Terrorism: A Typology," Journal of International Affairs, No.32, (Summer 1978), p.10

[59] See U.S. Department of State, Patterns of International Terrorism, 1992, (Washington D.C., Govt Printing Press, 1982), p.i

[60] Ibid.

[61] See Bruce Hoffman, "Technology and Terrorism," in Paul Wilkinson, (ed.), Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.5, No.2, (Summer 1993), pp.16-19

[62] Dr Magnus Ranstorp, Lecturer in Middle East studies, during an **interview**, at St Andrews University, May 25, 1995

Chief of Station of the CIA, from Beirut to Teheran.[63] This took place via the Pasdaran contingent in the Bekaa valley so that he could be more effectively interrogated by Iranian intelligence.[64] The close collaboration between Hizb'allah and Iran was alluded to by Rafsanjani and his brother-in-law, General Moshen Rafiqdoust, the former minister of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, who stated that, "Both the TNT and the ideology which in one blast sent to hell 400 officers, NCOs, and soldiers at the Marine Headquarters had been provided by Iran."[65] Without accepting direct responsibility Iranian secular and clerical officials have indicated on numerous occasions that they are sympathetic to terrorist attacks carried out by Hizb'allah operatives in Lebanon and elsewhere.[66]

The intelligence community's problems in coming to terms with defining the concept of terrorism notwithstanding, specific criticism levelled at the intelligence community has been expressed by Howard Teicher who suggests that the problem was not due to the lack in understanding the concept, or an absence of intelligence. The problem, he argues, was with its content: "The NSC staff were always in possession of sufficient warning intelligence, although the intelligence in question was almost only in the form of "overheads" (photo intelligence). The CIA was continually tasked with requirements, however, they were never able to provide adequate intelligence based on human source reports."[67] Teicher confirms that

---

[63] For an overview of the role of Iran and the Pasdaran in Lebanon and in support of Hizb'allah, see Mohammad Mohaddessin, Islamic Fundamentalism: The New Global Threat, (Washington D.C., Seven Locks Press, 1993), pp.85-86 and Al Watan Al Arabi, Paris, August, 25, 1991. The kidnapping of William Buckley is the subject of the following case study and is discussed in Chapter 4.

[64] See U.S. Congress, Joint Committee, The Iran-Contra Affair, Report of the Congressional Committees Investigating the Iran-Contra Affairs, 100th Congress, 1st Session, 1987 and Foreign Broadcasting Information Service, May 29, 1985

[65] See Mohammad Mohaddessin (1993), op.cit:, p.205 and his translation of this statement by Rafiqdoust which appeared in Ressalat, July 20, 1987, into English.

[66] See Bruce Hoffman, (March 1990), op.cit:, pp.15-19 and Mohammad Mohaddessin, (1993), op.cit:, p116

[67] Teicher's opinion was confirmed by Graham Fuller, in a **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995 Whereas technical and photographic intelligence assets are capable of

the death of Ames dealt a serious blow to the CIA's human intelligence capabilities in Lebanon and points out that the reactivation of George Cave, a former Iranian expert, who was brought in from retirement, is an indication of the extent to which the CIA's human intelligence capabilities had been eroded.[68] Despite the CIA's shortcomings, however, Teicher asserts that the dysfunction occurred at the senior policy making level and should be attributed to the bias of the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, who consistently argued that the U.S. was not at war. Weinberger's argument was based on his innate belief that military force should only be used as a last resort and did not agree with the principle of using the military as an instrument of diplomacy.[69] Consequently, the Marines' rules of engagement (ROE), which went so far as to prohibit the security guards at the Marine barracks in Beirut from carrying loaded rifles, prevented them from being able to respond physically and effectively to any warnings that they received.[70] In this instance it was a case of a principle overriding reality. The Pentagon's objective of avoiding confrontation submerged all the warnings. Intelligence and all its indications, not least the first embassy bombing, was unable to guarantee good decision making.

---

providing intelligence on an adversary's capabilities, they fall short in providing insight into the minds and intentions of the adversary. This is of particular importance in a civil war setting, where techint is of little value and where political and social chaos prevails and communications infrastructure, the source of technical intelligence, has broken down.

[68] Howard Teicher during a **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995. George Cave retired from the CIA in 1980 when his status changed to that of 'consultant.' He was the only member of the Agency who spoke fluent Farsi. See Theodore Draper, A Very Thin Line: The Iran-Contra Affairs, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1991), p.126

[69] See Lou Cannon, "Setbacks in Beirut Bare Conflicts, Uncertainty at White House," Washington Post, February 19, 1984, pp.A1 & A22. See also "A Reluctant Congress Adopts Lebanon Policy," 1983 Congressional Quarterly Almanac, p.114 and Bernard Gwertzman, "Schultz Refuses to Put Limits on Marines' Mission," New York Times, September 25, 1983, pp.1 & 14 and Helen Dewar, "Senate Democrats Dig In Their Heels," Washington Post, September 18, 1983, pp.A1 & A12

[70] See Vincent A Auger, The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon, 1982-84, (Washington, D.C., Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, School of Foreign Service, Pew Case Study No.358, 1983) and Margot Hornblower, "Hill Gives Troop Plan Mixed Review," Washington Post, September 21, 1982, p.A10

The loss of 241 American lives as a result of the bombing of the BLT barracks[71] resulted in questions raised throughout the administration and Congress concerning the ability of the U.S. intelligence community to support the political system in providing warning and current intelligence.[72] Like the bombing of the U.S. embassy a few months before, the rationale behind the attack was rooted in the perception of Islamic fundamentalist forces that the U.S. was an ally of Israel and the Christian Phalange in Lebanon.[73] When the Lebanese Armed Forces (LAF) came under attack from Syrian-backed forces on the Suq al Gharb, which was within close proximity to the American ambassador's residence, Robert McFarlane, who was in the residence at the time, insisted that the U.S. naval task force use gunfire in support of the LAF. Despite doubts raised by U.S. intelligence analysts who were also present, McFarlane persuaded the administration that all was close to being lost and that the LAF was facing defeat at the hands of Soviet surrogate forces should U.S. forces not intervene.[74] According to a naval intelligence communications officer who was present at the time, Robert McFarlane informed the ambassador that he had sent his "Sky is Falling" cable only *after* he had despatched it to Washington. The contents of the cable sent by McFarlane to the NSC on Sunday September 11, 1983, reported that pitched battles were been waged within five kilometres of the Presidential Palace and the

---

[71] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.161-169 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.104-112 & 125-134 and Frederic Hof, "The Beirut Bombing of October 1983: An Act of Terrorism," Parameters, Journal of the US Army War College, Vol.XV, No.2, pp.69-74

[72] See the U.S. Embassy Bombing In Beirut: Hearing Before the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, June 28, 1983, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1983) and the U.S. Department of Defense, Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983. The Long Commission Report. (Washington D.C., Department of Defense December 20, 1983) and See also David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp. 108-109

[73] Thomas L Friedman, (1989), op.cit:, pp.199-201

[74] Comments made by William Beck, former U.S.navy intelligence communications officer in Beirut, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on August 2, 1995

U.S. embassy in Beirut. He claimed that if the American government failed to intervene, the Lebanese government would fall. McFarlane's call for naval fire included the use of tactical air support.[75] The Reagan Administration succumbed to McFarlane's appraisal which dovetailed with their mind-set of Soviet culpability for world-wide conflict and terrorism.[76] McFarlane's opinion was opposed by local intelligence officers and not least by the Marine commander, Lt Col. Geraghty, who correctly predicted that it would increase the Marines exposure to further acts of violence.[77]

Despite this opposition McFarlane's views prevailed and on the 19 September, the U.S.S destroyer the *John Rogers* and the missile cruisers *Virginia* which were situated in the Bay of Lebanon, opened fire on Druze positions, located seven miles away in the Suq al Gharb mountains.[78] This failure to limit the means of force in responding to the crisis, reinforced their adversary's perceptions that U.S. interests, and the Marines in particular, were legitimate military targets.[79] It also demonstrated how the Reagan Administration was unable to respond on an adequate level, as Robert Fisk observed: "...exhumed by an American administration so enamoured of the big screen, the resurrection of the 40 year old, 45,000 ton battleship New Jersey for duty off Lebanon was surely the most preposterous symbol of America's folly. The New Jersey was thus a true representative of U.S. policy in Lebanon: unthinking, unwieldy and hopelessly out of date."[80] Thus the U.S. was unaccustomed to fighting a war where

[75] See William Beck, U.S. Foreign Policy in Lebanon Under the Reagan Administration 1981-1989, (M.A. Thesis, George Washington University,1989), p.45

[76] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, in Washington D.C. See also David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.121

[77] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:,p.505 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.151

[78] See William E Smith and Robert Suro, "Helping to Hold the Line," Time, October 3, 1983, p.13. See also Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, pp.506-507

[79] See Glen Hastedt, "Intelligence Failure and Intelligence: The Attack on the Marines in Beirut," Conflict Quarterly, (Spring 1988), p.13. See also Dilip Hiro, (1993) op.cit:, pp.106-110 and See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, pp.515-518

terrorism and more specifically truck-bombs, were used as a blatant part of the adversary's strategy. The administration's military instruments of statecraft were equipped and trained to deal with conventional conflict and nuclear war. America's strategic military doctrine was inappropriate for the Lebanon environment where terrorism and civil war were the medium of conflict. Conventional wisdom denied the Reagan Administration of the conceptual key with which to unlock the series of crises precipitated by terrorism and which compounded the overall Lebanon issue. Over confidence in their military power acted as an effective barrier, thereby preventing them from recognising that, using a sledgehammer to crack a nut, would not suffice.

The lack of intelligence and interaction between the intelligence community and the decision making elite prevented the administration from realising that it should limit its objectives in Lebanon. Consequently the adaptation of the principle of limiting the means employed to achieve the objectives remained an anathema to the Reagan Administration. Despite their experiences in Vietnam and Korea, the military had not maintained their capabilities and expertise to function in hostile third world countries and were simply not geared to support diplomatic initiatives in unconventional environments.

The Iranian revolution and hostage situation was too recent an incident at that time for the administration to respond to, despite the fact that it was an important lesson. Any lessons which may have been learnt in that episode had not yet been carried over and consequently, no adaptations within the armed forces and the intelligence services had been made. On the contrary, the disadvantage of the concentrating all one's assets in one place and the failure to establish a fall-back network of intelligence assets in Iran, did not appear to have taught the intelligence community any lessons at all.[81] This was demonstrated by the kidnapping of the CIA

---

[80] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:. p.507

[81] John Walcott, editor U.S. News & World Report, during an **interview**, on July 17,

chief of station in Beirut, William Buckley in 1984, which will be dealt with in the following case study.[82] They had also failed to learn the lessons of Iran, where they relied too heavily on one segment of the population, namely, the Shah's circle and SAVAK, for intelligence information and sources.[83] In Lebanon, the administration relied predominantly on the LAF for supplemental intelligence information. Consequently, neither the armed forces or the intelligence community were in possession of the appropriate assets to provide an adequate defence or institutional response during terrorist type crises which occurred outside its territorial borders. The lack of specific intelligence information pertaining to the identities and location of the terrorists who had attacked U.S. interests in Beirut, prevented the use of military instruments of statecraft in punishing and deterring those responsible.

Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, Syria perceived the U.S. to be an accomplice in an Israeli - Phalangist plot against the PLO and Syrian interests in Lebanon. Israel's objectives were aimed at installing a Lebanese government that would be responsive to its security needs in southern Lebanon.[84] After proceeding as far as Beirut, driving the PLO out of Lebanon and occupying the Shouf mountains, the Israeli army withdrew, precipitating a full-scale civil war. This included a fierce battle between the Druze and Phalange forces for control of former Israeli positions in the Shouf mountains. The U.S. Marines, who were initially deployed as peacekeepers, found themselves forced into taking sides as a result of the decision made by Robert McFarlane to fire in support of the Phalange government on the Druze positions in the Suq al Gharb. This

---

1995, and reinforced by Noel Koch, in a **telephone interview** on February 21, 1996

[82] See Con Coughlin, Hostage: The Complete Story of the Lebanon Captives, (London, Little Brown and Co.,1992), pp.73-74

[83] The SAVAK was the Iranian intelligence service during the reign of the Shah.

[84] For an overview of the role and influence of Israel, see also Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit and George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, pp.77-78

catapulted the U.S. into the war and made it a legitimate target in the eyes of the Phalange's enemies. The withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut and the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, resulted in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.[85] Horrified by these massacres, the U.S. felt morally obliged to re-deploy the Marines to Beirut.[86] Syria and its surrogate forces', however, perceived this as American intervention and part of a triad alliance consisting of Israel, the Phalange and the U.S. governments.[87] That belief was emphasised by Nabih Berri who issued a statement on September 1, 1983 to the effect that, "...the Marines had turned into a fighting force against Muslims in Lebanon." Berri's statement was supported by Walid Jumblatt who told a press conference in Damascus that, "...the mere fact that the U.S. are providing the Lebanese factional army with logistical support, expertise and training, is enough for us to consider them [as] enemies."[88]

It has already being demonstrated that in this instance, intelligence was unable to guarantee good policy or decision making. Cogan points out that when we attempt to apply the concept of management to crises we assume that by putting together a mechanism that is designed to respond and assist us in coping better

---

[85] On September 14, 1982 a bomb exploded at the Phalange Party headquarters in Ashrafiya, East Beirut which killed Bashir Gemayel. Although there was evidence implicting Syrian intelligence to the assassination of Gemayel, it is alleged that General Sharon of the IDF spread the rumour that it was the work of undercover PLO commandos who had stayed behind after the evacuation of Yasser Arafat and the PLO from Beirut. The head of the IDF Northern Command, Major General Amir Drori authorised the forces of Elie Hobeika, Gemayel's intelligence chief to search the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila for the undercover commandos. While the IDF surrounded and controlled the access to the camps, Christian Phalange commanders massacred the inhabitants of the two camps over a thirty-eight hour period between the 16 and 18 September. About 2000 men, women and children were murdered See Dilip Hiro, (1983), op.cit:, pp.92-93, and Michael Jansen, The Battle of Beirut, Why Israel Invaded Lebanon, (London, Zed Press, 1982), pp.97-109. See also Robert Suro, Time, September 27, 1982

[86] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, and George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, pp.77-78

[87] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, in Washington, D.C., and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.94

[88] See the testimony of General James Mead in the section, "Americans the Focus of Anger," U.S. House of Representatives, Committee On Armed Services, Armed Services Investigations Subcommittee, (Washington, D.C., December 20, 1983), p.14. See also David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.115

with foreseeable situations, we can also implement the management of crisis forecasting.[89] One should be wary of jumping to the conclusion that, a system which is capable of providing warning intelligence which will prevent crises, can be successfully implemented. The fact of the matter is that crisis prevention is only partly dependent upon warning intelligence and that it is the interactive relationship between intelligence and decision making, i.e. the correct intellectual interpretation of the information in relation to the consumer's values and interests, which governs the success of intelligence.

These conceptual tools, however, are not always identical or a lasting feature of national security and crisis management. They will vary in capability, integrity and effectiveness in accordance with the qualities and abilities of those individuals tasked with that responsibility. In government, the concept of national interest and security provides the axiom and focus for intelligence activity.[90] In crisis dynamics the function of intelligence is primarily to forewarn the authorities of an impending crisis situation. Reliable, accurate and timely information is indispensable during crises for the successful management thereof and intelligence therefore will continue to play a pivotal role. Used as an instrument of war, terrorism against U.S. interests in Lebanon highlighted the role of intelligence as an essential tool towards its prevention.[91]

---

[89] See Charles Cogan, "Intelligence and Crisis Management: The Importance of the Pre-Crisis," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.9, No.4 (October 1994), p.635

[90] See Stafford T Thomas, "CIA Functional Diversity and the National Security Policy Process," in Stephen J Cimbala, (ed.), Intelligence and Intelligence Policy in a Democratic Society, (New York, Transnational Publishers, Inc.,1987), p.96 and Harry Howe Ransom, Central Intelligence and National Security, (Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1958), pp.2-4

[91] See comments made by William Casey in "Briefing to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence," Time Magazine, July 1, 1985, and Robert McFarlane, "Deterring Terrorism," Journal of Defense & Diplomacy, June 1985, p.63 and Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, p.167

When political decision makers have been disappointed by the intelligence community, particularly at the onset of a crisis, they tend to fall back upon their own judgement and analytical instincts.[92] This is a fundamental mistake which only serves to compound crises. Once a crisis situation is underway, however, warning intelligence gives way to current intelligence and its support for crisis response in the form of operational and tactical intelligence. This category of intelligence is aimed at providing the crisis management team with up-to-date information on the situation as it develops and feedback on the effectiveness of response initiatives. Robert Gates, the former DCI, has noted that given the difficulty in predicting events, the best that intelligence services can hope to achieve with regards to crisis situations, is to offer a selection of choices to the decision-maker during times of crisis.[93] His observation supports the concept that during crises, the intelligence community must exert a more participative role in crisis management.

The intelligence imperative implies the provision of intelligence support to those structures that exist within the political administration that are equipped to deal with crises by providing them with warning, strategic and current intelligence. These crisis management and response structures do not operate in isolation. They are influenced by the political processes and climate which prevails at the time. Cogan attributes this reality to the fact that every presidential administration in the US has its own distinctive management style. Initially it takes time for each new administration to develop a system that will cope with crises at the political level. This, he argues, is one of the principal reasons why there always tends to be one major crisis situation that is usually handled badly during the early stages of each administration.[94]

---

[92] Comments attributable to Maj.Gen.Chris Thirion (Retired) of the South African Defence Force - Chief of Staff - Military Intelligence during an **interview**, with the author in Pretoria, on 18 March 1994.

[93] See Charles Cogan, (October 1994), op.cit:, p.633

Another explanation lies in the fact that since the end of World War Two, with the exception of the Quemoy / Mitsu crisis between the US and the Peoples' Republic of China in 1958, the Berlin Blockade, the Cuban Missile Crises and the Yom Kippur War, there have been few crises that have actually carried the risk of war between the US and Soviet Union. The majority of other crisis situations which have involved terrorist type strategies, such as the fall of the Shah of Iran, the Hostage Crises in Iran during 1979-1981, and in Lebanon from the mid 1980s to the early 1990s, have been incidents for which the intelligence and the policy-making community were not equipped to deal with at an adequate conceptual level. Intelligence gathering and analysis has been focused upon supporting the traditional concept of national interest and the security of nation-states since the advent of the industrial revolution. Given the need for adaptation to the changing environment by intelligence communities, the overall function of intelligence is not expected to change. Responding to environmental dynamics and technological advancements will, however, affect the manner in which tasking, collection and analysis of intelligence is conducted.

Technological change has effectively revolutionised the methods of communication and the dissemination of intelligence. Whereas artificial intelligence and increased computing technology is also expediting the speed at which information can be verified and analysed, there is currently a dysfunction between the speed with which information can be intellectually processed and the speed at which it can be distributed, absorbed and responded to.[95] Intelligence management and technology are currently not in harmony. This was certainly the case during the Lebanon crisis, where the Marines were inundated with unmanageable quantities of intelligence information

---

[94] Ibid., p.645

[95] This opinion was expressed by Stansfield Turner, former DCI, during an **interview**, with the author on July 22, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia.

which lacked specific details.[96] This is usually always the case, however, when details are hard to come by because of the impentrable nature of the intelligence target.

Frustration leads to increased effort which unfortunately tends to produce increased quantity instead of quality. This factor, combined with the abundance of information that has become available to crisis managers, all contribute towards the tendency of decision makers to circumvent the analysis process and to reach out for what is available, rather than for what is necessarily more accurate, highly evaluated and true. The Middle East debacle and its terrorist dimension presented the U.S. intelligence community with one of its most formidable problems with regard to collection requirements. The challenge was to monitor an adversary who did not engage the Marines in full scale conflict, however, but on an intermittent basis. This task was to gain access to information pertaining to the capabilities and intentions of Islamic zealots who were determined to attack American interests. Information gathered was to serve as warning intelligence in order to enable the administration to pre-empt acts of violence.

As case studies of strategic surprises repeatedly demonstrate, warning intelligence is no easy task.[97] Not only do emerging outlines of events become clear only after the fact but surprise often succeeds despite accurate and timely warnings. Established policy

---

[96] See US Department of Defence, Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983, December 20, 1983. (Washington D.C., US Govt Printing Office, 1983) and John F Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, pp.8-9. For an account of how data overload can affect intelligence analysis, see Walter Laqueur, A World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence, (New York, Basic Books, Inc, 1985), pp.86-98

[97] See Roberta Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbour: Warning and Decision (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1962) and Richard Betts, Surprise Attack, (Washington D.C., Brookings Institute, 1982), for additional insight into the problems of intelligence and surprise, see Klaus Knorr and Patrick Morgan (eds.), Strategic Military Surprise: Incentives and Opportunities, (New Jersey, Transaction Press, 1983) and Klaus Knorr, "Failures in National Intelligence Estimates: The Case of the Cuban Missile Crisis," World Politics, XVI:3, (April 1964), pp.461-462 and Ariel Levite, Intelligence and Strategic Surprise, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1987). For a more contemporary discussion see James J Wirtz, "Miscalculation, Surprise and American Intelligence after the Cold War," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.1, pp.1-13.

commitments, alert fatigue and unrealistic expectations concerning what can be predicted, all deaden the impact of intelligence warnings.[98] In this regard, terrorism remains one of the most difficult phenomenons to deal with.[99] In Lebanon, one of the problems was not the lack of warning intelligence, but the lack in content and of specific information pertaining to the intentions of the terrorists, i.e. specifics about the adversaries themselves and the dates, times and places of attacks. According to an Israeli intelligence source, "While the CIA had reason to believe that Iranian backed terrorists would eventually bomb the Marine barracks in Beirut, it lacked information needed to prevent the 1983 attack or to warn of its imminence."[100] Linked to this was the absence of current intelligence which failed to provide an overall socio-political framework within which to understand the motives and the intentions of the adversary. Current intelligence was also required to enable the administration to punish those terrorists groups who were responsible for past terrorists attacks.[101]

Finally the intelligence imperative does not only apply to the collection of information pertaining to adversaries. During crises, it is just as important to remain fully informed about the behaviour and activities of one's allies. During the Lebanon debacle, the U.S. foreign policy initiatives were repeatedly frustrated by General Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Defence Minister.[102] It also appeared that Sharon was pursuing a separate agenda in Lebanon than that of the Israeli

---

[98] See Mark Lowenthal, "The Burdensome Concept of Failure," in Alfred Maurer, Marion Tunstall and James Keagle (eds.), Intelligence Policy and Process, (Boulder, Westview Press, 1985), pp.45-56

[99] See Glen Hastedt, "Can Intelligence Agencies Learn: Reporting After The Terrorist Attack On The Marines in Lebanon," Seminar paper presented at the International Studies Association, Atlanta, (April 2, 1992), p.11

[100] Robert A Manning, Steven Emerson and Charles Fenyvesi, "Casey's CIA: New Clout, New Danger," U.S. News & World Report, June 16, 1986, p.27.

[101] Robert S Dudney and Jeff Trimble, (July 8, 1985), op.cit:, p.30

[102] See George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, pp.25-29

Cabinet.[103] This was not only the case with regards to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, but also in relation to the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila.[104] Intelligence if used correctly during crises, should assist the authorities in determining what factors threaten their objectives and how the behaviour of other actors will have an impact upon those goals. Included in most U.S. intelligence assessments, is a section which is titled, "Implications for U.S. policy" which allows for the intelligence community to make comments relevant to the content and the policy issues that it may affect. The comments spell out the assumptions and obvious conditions which could have an impact upon policy objectives.[105] An understanding of the goals of an ally during bilateral and multilateral crisis response is essential towards the coordination and the application of instruments and techniques and towards identifying common objectives. This is an important factor in relation to the principle of limiting objectives given the prevalence of adverse conditions and the need for restraint. It is important to avoid any undue escalation in the level of the threat presented by the crisis. This is an important aspect that necessitates consideration by policy makers and intelligence analysts when it comes to identifying intelligence requirements for collection.

---

[103] See Shai Feldman and Heda Rechnitz-Kijner, Deception, Consensus and War: Israel in Lebanon, (Tel Aviv, Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, Tel Aviv University, Paper No.27, October 1984), pp.25-41 and Wadi Haddad, Lebanon: The Politics of Revolving Doors, (Washington D.C., The Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1985), p.75. See also See Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, Every Spy a Prince, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1990), pp.264-266

[104] See George Ball, (1984), op.cit:. pp.25-29 & 67. See also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.43-61 & 101-114. Also Ze'ev Schiff and Ehud Ya'ari, Israel's Lebanon War (New York, Simon & Schuster, 1984), pp.31-61. See also R T Naylor, "From Bloodbath to Whitewash: Sabra - Shatilla and the Kahn Commission Report," Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol.5, (Fall 1983), pp.337-361. For more information on the massacres, see The Commission of Inquiry into the Events at the Refugee Camps in Beirut - 1983 - Final Report (Kahan Report)

[105] Described by Graham Fuller, former NIO and CIA officer during the Reagan Administration, during a **telephone interview** with the author on November 15, 1995

3.2.1 Intelligence tasking

The first step in the intelligence process involves the identification of information requirements by the consumer. Intelligence requirements have their origins in the response by consumers, analysts and intelligence gatherers to stimuli which are related to the consumers objectives as they become known, and in the perceived threats and risks involved in the pursuit of those objectives.[106] Whereas the intelligence cycle suggests that requirements for collection are generated by policy makers, this is rarely the case.[107] Policy makers often know little about the depth of existing data and are unfamiliar with the intelligence community's capabilities and vulnerabilities in gathering their requirements. Collection requirements are also generated by the analytical components which understand where gaps in existing data need to be filled and by the collectors themselves, who recognise the logical progression of information as they collect it.[108] This principle implies therefore, that producers and consumers must maintain regular contact with one another.

During the Lebanon initiative, the core capabilities of the intelligence community for political analysis were rooted in the operations and intelligence directorates of the CIA. Within the Directorate of Intelligence, the Office for Near East and South Asian Analysis (NESA) was responsible for Lebanon intelligence.[109] The relevant body in the Reagan Administration responsible for initiating intelligence requirements during the period in question was the Secretary of State, the National Security Council staff, the National

---

[106] See Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, p.135

[107] See Harry Howe Ransom, (1958), op.cit:, p.13 and Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989), op.cit:, p.3.

[108] This observation is based upon the author's personal experience as an intelligence officer.

[109] See Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.11-17

Intelligence Officer and Reagan's Middle East envoy, Philip Habib.[110] In the early stages of the administration the architect of the U.S. government's Lebanon policy was Secretary of State Alexander Haig.[111] It is not known how often or whether Haig or Habib consulted the intelligence community prior to or during the times when they made policy decisions.

The consequences of their policy, however, would suggest that whatever they did, the available intelligence was simply ignored. In addition, tension between the Secretary of State and the National Security Advisor and the Director of Central Intelligence prevailed throughout the Reagan Administration.[112] Furthermore Philip Habib was described as somewhat of a dogmatic character who had definite ideas on how the U.S. should approach the Lebanon situation and was seldom amenable to discussion, particularly when it led to dissenting opinions.[113] He therefore inadvertently became part of the problem instead of contributing towards its solution.[114] He was not amenable to suggestions when they contradicted his opinions and went his own way and seldom, if never, consulted the intelligence community.[115] Underlying tensions therefore dominated the relationships between the key policy makers which created barriers between the intelligence community and the consumers.

---

[110] Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, pp 169-191; See also Chrostopher Andrew, For the President's Eyes Only, Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush, (London, Harper Collins, 1995), p.468

[111] See Alexander Haig, (1984), op.cit:, p.310

[112] Ibid.

[113] Habib's bias was described by Geoffrey Kemp, former NSC staff member, diuring an **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C. The same view on Habib's behaviour and mind set were expressed by John Walcott, editor U.S. News & World Report, during an **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C. See also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.45 & 110; Also Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, pp.172 & 218 and "Habib, Miracle Man of the Mideast," U.S. News and World Report, August 30, 1982, p.8 and "Habib the Peacemaker," Newsweek, August 30, 1982, p.36.See also Eric Hammel, (1985), op.cit:, p.16

[114] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[115] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C. According to Kemp, Habib would shout everyone down at meetings and was nicknamed "the Volcano".

When George Schultz took over from Alexander Haig as Secretary of State in 1982, he relied upon Habib for guidance with regard to the State Department's policy objectives in Lebanon[116] and lent his support to the Habib plan, without due consideration of the intelligence community's opinions, whom he instinctively mistrusted.[117] He did not question or test the basic assumptions upon which the Haig-Habib policy initiatives had been based.[118] At an early stage in the crisis, Haig and Habib decided that the key to their Lebanon strategy lay in persuading Israel and Syria to withdraw from Beirut while simultaneously resurrecting the Lebanese Armed Forces which would provide the security base for the unification of the Lebanese government under the Christian leadership of Bashir Gemayel.[119] Habib was confident that he could negotiate a quick withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian forces. His strategy was based upon the primary objective of securing an agreement between Israel and Lebanon. In his mind, once Israel had withdrawn, Syria would automatically follow suit.[120] Habib's assumptions and expectations of Syrian behaviour led him not to consult with Asad during his negotiation efforts between Israel and Lebanon, other than to keep Syria informed in general as to the progress that was being made with the talks.[121] This alienated Asad, who perceived the U.S.

---

[116] For a comprehensive overview of Schultz's views on Lebanon see the published excerpts from George Schultz News Conference of August 20, 1982, U.S. Department of State Bulletin, No.82, (September 1982), pp.8-13

[117] Stansfield Turner, former DCI, during an **interview**, with the author on July 22, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia. See also Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.51. See also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.60

[118] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C. The same opinion was expressed by John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[119] See Geoffrey Bowder, "Lebanon's Struggle for Survival," World Today, No.39, (November 1983), pp.443-449 and Caspar Weinberger, (1990), op.cit:, pp.143-174

[120] For an overview of Habib's assumptions on the behaviour of Syria and Israel in Lebanon, see Ze'ev Schiff, "Dealing With Syria," Foreign Policy, No.55, (Summer 1984), pp.92-112

[121] See Robert Neumann, "Assad and the Future of the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, Vol.62, No.2, (Winter 1983), p.240. See also U.S. House of Representatives, Committee On Foreign Affairs, Developments in the Middle East, November, 1983, Ninety-Eighth Congress,

initiatives as an American-Israeli conspiracy to undermine his influence in Lebanon and Syria's national security interests.[122] This ultimately caused the Reagan Administration to miss an opportunity to bring Syria into the peace plan and to secure U.S. objectives.[123] Habib's perception of Syria's compliance was reinforced by promises made by Saudi Arabia to that effect and upon his expectations that moderate Arab states would influence Asad to withdraw once the Israelis had departed.[124] He maintained a disproportionate level of self confidence in his powers of persuasion and believed that he could convince the Lebanese government and President Asad to adhere to the terms of the May 17 agreement.[125]

At the most senior and strategic levels, the intelligence community and the administration were divided over the issues of the administration's policy strategy in the Middle East.[126] This extended to the Soviet Union's alleged support for international terrorism.[127] An irreconcilable difference in opinion prevailed between the Directorate of Intelligence's analysis on international terrorism and the perception of the DCI, William Casey, who shared an unshakeable belief with Alexander Haig and President Reagan that the Soviet Union was universally culpable for international terrorism.[128] Shortly after the

---

First Session, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), pp.8-9

[122] See Patrick Searle, (1988), op.cit:, pp.394-395 also Dilip Hiro, (1993), op.cit:, p.97

[123] See Paul Wilkinson, "The Lebanese Powderkeg," Contemporary Review, No.243, (August 1983), pp.64-71

[124] Howard Teicher, former senior NSC Middle East staff member, during a **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C. See Dan Tschirgi, (1989), op.cit:, pp. 193 & 233 also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.57-61 also Dilip Hiro, (1993), op.cit:, p.97

[125] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995

[126] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995.

[127] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C. See also Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.93 & 134-135

[128] Casey, Reagan and Haig had been heavily influenced by Claire Sterling's book: The Terror Network (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1981), which is based upon her hypothesis that the Soviet Union was responsible for coordinating and exploiting international terrorism towards its foreign policy objectives. Ironically, much of the information that she obtained in her research was the product of a previous CIA disinformation campaign conducted in Italy a

BLT bombing, government sources in Washington went so far as to allege that the Soviet Union may have also been involved.[129] The intelligence community, however, pointed out that there was no factual evidence to support the claim after Alexander Haig, in his capacity as Secretary of State, had converted his sentiments into the holy grail of U.S. counter-terrorist policy. Haig's belief was based upon Claire Sterling's book, *The Terror Network*, which alleged that the Soviet Union was the mastermind behind international terrorism.[130] His views were no doubt reinforced by his personal experience in Belgium where, as Commander-in-Chief of Nato, he survived an attempt on his life by the Red Army Faction Terrorist Organisation in 1979.[131] The Reagan Administration maintained an over simplified view of the complexities of political violence. An example of the administration's tendency to oversimplify the phenomenon of political violence by sweeping it under the carpet of 'terrorism', is provided by Jack Davis who was a member of the CIA briefing team that was responsible for briefing President-elect Reagan on the PLO. During a briefing session, Davis presented Ronald Reagan with an Agency memorandum that described the subtleties of the Palestinian movement. This memo discussed the complex array of background, personalities, ideologies, tactics and strategies that divided Palestinian people and characterised the myriad of groups inside and outside the Palestine Liberation Organisation. After giving the memo careful consideration, Reagan turned to Davis and said, "*But they are all terrorists, aren't they?*"[132]

---

few years before. See Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.168. See also the United States Senate Select Committee On Intelligence, 98 th Congress, 1st Session, January 1, 1981 to December 31, 1982, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), p.26. Also P Jenkins, "The Assassins Revisited" Claire Sterling and the Politics of Intelligence," Intelligence and National Security, (1989)

[129] See the front page article by Robert Fisk, the Times, October 24, 1983

[130] See Claire Sterling, (1982), op.cit.

[131] See Peter Taylor, (1993), op.cit:, pp.80-82

[132] See John L Helgerson, Central Intelligence Agency CIA Briefings of Presidential Candidates, Chapter 6: Reagan and Bush: A study in Contrasts, (Washington D.C., CIA

Haig and Casey tasked the CIA with providing evidence to sustain their convictions.[133] Following the CIA's analysis which had failed to provide evidence in support of this policy line,[134] Casey tasked the DIA to conduct its own investigation. The resultant analysis, however, was so blatantly skewed that Casey had no option but to reject that report as well in the interests of protecting the integrity of analysis.[135] This demonstration of cognitive bias at the administration's most senior level is an example of how consumers, by tasking the intelligence community, can inadvertently, or quite deliberately, influence the requested analysis. Policy statements that have already been made can induce condescending individuals within the intelligence community to provide substantiating evidence in support of existing policy bias.[136]

The differences between William Casey's background, his manner of operating, and the CIA's institutional ethos, strained the relationship between William Casey and the organisation that he headed.[137] Casey, a former OSS operative took command of the CIA

Centre for the Study of Intelligence May 22, 1996)

[133] See US Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence, United States Senate, January 1, 1981 to December 31, 1982, February 28, 1983, (Washington D.C., US Government Printing Office, 1983), p.26. On February 11, 1981, Alexander Haig announced that international terrorism would be the number one foreign policy priority of the new administration. See Robert Olson, "Denigrating America's Challengers," Middle East International, No.227, (June 15, 1984), pp.17-18

[134] See "CIA Said to Doubt Soviet Tie to Terrorism," Washington Post, March 29, 1981

[135] Carolyn McGiffert Ekedahl, CIA analyst responsible for the analysis on the role of the Soviet Union in international terrorism, **interview**, on August 1995, Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

[136] While Haig and Casey were guilty of biais, however, this point deserves further clarification. Notwithstanding the fact that these senior individuals based their beliefs upon an erroneous assumption, hindsight indicates, with some recent disclosures from Stasi files, that their original perceptions were nevertheless partly correct. Evidence has come to light which indicates that the former German Democratic Republic was instrumental in supplying and supporting European terrorist groups in Western Europe and some Middle East terrorist operations in Europe. See the report by Marc Fisher, "E.Germans Said to Aid Anti-US Terrorist Acts," Washington Post, March 27, 1991. See also a report titled "Stasi Role in Lockerbie Bombing Examined," Der Spiegel, April 18, 1994 as well as an article (untitled) in the Frankfurter Rundshau, July 2, 1991, wherein a former RAF operative confirmed that the Stasi provided assistance and training to the Red Army Faction.

[137] For an in-depth overview of Casey's personality and how he disagreed with the Agency's analysis on Soviet support for international terrorism, see Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, pp.217-222

at a time when there was little confidence in the analytical expertise of the Directorate of Intelligence, since the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board had conducted the A-Team B-Team experiment.[138] Casey created further tension between himself and the CIA bureaucracy by appointing a rank outsider, Max Hugel, as his Deputy Director of Operations. Hugel's appointment alienated the CIA bureaucracy and chafed the feelings of the career operations personnel as he had not risen through the ranks nor did he have any previous intelligence experience. The whole issue was exacerbated when allegations pertaining to Hugel's former business dealings and insider trading were disclosed in public. This controversy further undermined morale within the CIA.[139] Casey, a Brooklyn lawyer, felt at odds with the Ivy league graduates of the Directorate of Intelligence.[140]

The relationship between the DCI and the Directorate of Intelligence was not harmonious. From the beginning Casey made a point of targeting the production of National Intelligence Estimates.[141] He believed that analysts were too preoccupied with protecting their carreer and positions and that their analysis was too ambivalent and bereft of opinion. Casey reformed the format and style of NIEs by demanding that they be produced quicker, that the language be more

---

[138] In 1976, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and the PFIAB conducted an experiment aimed at evaluating the quality of collection and production of US intelligence on Soviet strategic capabilities and intentions. The experiment comprised of a comparasion in the analysis of an NIE between the Directorate of Intelligence, known as the A-Team and three independent groups of outside academics, known as the B-Team. The exercise highlighted shortcomings in the CIA's analytical capabilities, particularly with regard to their ability to predict Soviet intentions. Unfortunately the whole exercise was compromised and politicised as a result of leaks to the press about the results. See the A-B Team Experiments in Competitive Estimating, 1976, Report of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, (Washington D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978)

[139] Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.145-146

[140] See Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, pp.217-222. This was also confirmed by Abraham Shulsky, senior researcher at the Rand Corporation, **interview**, on July 18, 1995, Washington D.C.

[141] See David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, p.3. Also Robert A Manning, Steven Emerson and Charles Fenyvesi, "Casey's CIA: New Clout, New Danger," U.S. News & World Report, June 16, 1986, pp.24-31

declarative and the key evidence be highlighted.[142] As an activist, Casey believed that intelligence analysis should be used as an instrument by the intelligence community towards influencing policy and used the Presidential Daily Briefings toward that objective.[143]

In its foreign policy initiative in the Middle East, the Reagan Administration viewed the Lebanon problem through the same lens as the East - West superpower relationship instead of in the context of the regional dynamics between Israel, Syria, Iran and the emergence of Shi'ite fundamentalism.[144] The administration's focus upon the Soviet Union's role in the Middle East and international terrorism blinded administration officials to the local dynamics and the ambitions of these principal Middle Eastern actors and their role in Lebanon.[145] The administration also failed to recognise Syria's determination to safeguard its political and security interests in Lebanon.[146] In response to a question put to him concerning Syria's support for renegade elements of the PLO the Under Secretary of State for political affairs, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, replied that the State Department was confident that Syria had an appreciation of the U.S. political concerns in Lebanon.[147] His statement is a reflection of the attitude that prevailed within the State Department and a view that was held personally by George Schultz. The Secretary of State firmly believed that Syria had seriously considered the commitment

---

[142] See David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, p.3.

[143] See Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.221

[144] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.300-301 also Robert Neumann, (Winter 1983), op.cit:, p.255

[145] See Geoffrey Jansen, "Khomeinists on the March in Lebanon," Middle East International, No.230, (July 27, 1984), pp.15-16

[146] See Jennifer Morrison Taw and Bruce Hoffman, "Operations Other Than War," in Paul Davis, (ed.), New Challenges For Defence Planning, (Santa Monica, California, Rand, 1994)

[147] See U.S.Congress Hearing on the U.S. Embassy Bombing in Beirut, House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, June 28, 1983, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1983), p.13

and determination of the U.S. to achieve its policy objectives and that President Asad as well as Syria's allies would be intimidated by America's superpower status and corresponding military capability.[148] What Schultz failed to grasp, however, was the fact that the U.S. military instruments of statecraft were ill-suited for applying coercion in the Lebanon environment.[149] The effects of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its siege of Beirut upon the local Shi'ite population, were overlooked in the broader scheme of developments of the U.S. foreign policy in the region.[150] Consequently the NSC failed to recognise the use of terrorism as an effective instrument of leverage in the hands of Syria, Iran and their Shi'ite fundamentalist allies in Lebanon.[151] Despite the fact that, following the first embassy bombing the NSC staff tasked the intelligence community to concentrate its attention on Hizb'allah, none of the cabinet members paused to ask what the underlying motives for the attacks might be. The focus of the administration and Congress on the activities of the PLO, indicate that they underestimated the importance of Hizb'allah. Kemp argues that the May 17 agreement failed because Schultz and Habib did not have a firm grasp of the finer details. For example, no one had recognised the importance of arranging for the Lebanese government to withdraw its 1975 invitation to Syria to assist in maintaining Lebanon's stability.[152]

---

[148] Graham Fuller, **telephone Interview**, on November 15, 1995

[149] See Jennifer Morrison Taw and Bruce Hoffman, (1994), op.cit:, pp.233-235

[150] For an in-depth overview of the impact of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, see Dilip Hiro, (1993), op.cit. See also George Ball, (1984), op.cit. See Jonathan Randal, The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventures and American Bunglers, (London, Chatto & Windus, 1989). See Michael Jansen, (1982), op.cit. Also Dr. Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:. pp.52-55. This was confirmed by John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[151] This opinion was also expressed by Howard Teicher, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[152] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C

Although the NSC staff tasked the intelligence community with collecting information on the intentions of the terrorist groups, they failed to request information on the background and political objectives of Hizb'allah and its relationship with Iran and Syria within the context of U.S. objectives.[153] The extent of the administration and the President's ignorance of the complexities of the relationship between Hizb'allah and Iran, were aptly demonstrated during 1987, when in defence of the Iran-Contra initiative, President Reagan stated that there was no link between the arms sales and the release of the hostages, because the arms were being sold to Iran and not to Hizb'allah.[154]

At the helm of the administration, President Reagan's management style made matters worse. The president was not a strong or decisive leader and was unable to take the lead when his senior cabinet members disagreed over policy matters.[155] He relied upon his advisors and cabinet members to point him in the right direction.[156] Furthermore, a troika consisting of the president's counsellor, Edwin Meese, the Chief of Staff, James Baker, and his deputy, Michael K. Deaver, formed an effective barrier between Reagan and the rest of the White House staff. Senior staff and cabinet members' access to the president was tightly controlled which at times prevented critical information from reaching the president.[157]

---

[153] For insight into Hizb'allah's objectives and relationship with Syria and Iran, see Nassif Hitti, "Lebanon in Iran's Foreign Policy: Opportunities and Constraints," in Hooshang Amirahmadi and Nader Entessar (eds.), Iran and the Arab World, (London, Macmillan, 1993). See also Sean K Anderson, "Iranian State-Sponsored Terrorism," Conflict Quarterly, Vol.11, No.4, (Fall 1991) and Richard Norton, Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon, (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1987), and S Shapira, "The Origins of Hizb'allah," Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol.46, (Spring 1988)

[154] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.485

[155] See Ronald Reagan, (1990), op.cit:, p.477

[156] For a descripton of President Reagan's management style by those that served under him see Alexander Haig, (1984), op.cit:, pp.84-86 and Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.1-4 and Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.181

[157] See John Prados, Keeper of the Keys: A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush, (New York, William Morrow, Inc.,1991), pp.449-454

The troika's activities was one of the principle reasons for Alexander Haig's resignation in 1982.[158]

Unlike President Carter, who had elevated the status of his National Security Advisor to cabinet level, President Reagan elevated the status of the Director of Central Intelligence to cabinet level. Instead of the NSA, Casey became the president's chief intelligence advisor[159] and therefore held a more senior position than the NSA.[160] Reagan's appointment of Casey can be attributed to their personal relationship and the fact that Casey had been Reagan's presidential campaign manager. Casey who had originally set his sights on the position of Secretary of State, but failed to secure the post, accepted the position of DCI.[161] Although Schultz fought incessant bureaucratic battles with Caspar Weinberger,[162] he also perceived William Casey as a threat to his position and he distrusted Casey and the CIA.[163] This was compounded by the fact that President Reagan had inadvertently created the situation for two Secretaries of State to compete within his administration.[164] This created problems within the National Security Council. With regard to the Lebanon debacle, this meant that the administration seldom spoke with one or a uniform voice. This enabled Israel and the U.S.'s

---

[158] Ibid.

[159] Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.223. During the eight years of the two Reagan Administrations, there were no less than six National Security Advisors - See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.460

[160] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.460

[161] Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.16

[162] See Ronald Reagan, (1990), op.cit:, p.511

[163] See Oliver North and William Novak, Under Fire, (New York, Harper Collins, 1991), p.178

[164] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, pp.478 & 497, who argues that Casey's personal relationship with Reagan allowed him to influence the president's attitude toward the Soviet Union during the first half of the administration. It was only at a much later stage, that Reagan mollified his stance. According to Andrew, "Casey's dissapearance confirmed Schultz's role as the chief architect of Reagan's policy to the Soviet Union." For further information on Casey's relationship with Reagan and the tension between Casey and Schultz, see Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.281. See also Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.51 and Ronald Reagan (1990), op.cit:, p.477

adversaries to identify weaknesses in the administration, such as indecisiveness or cabinet dissention, and to exploit the situation to their advantage.[165] The disagreement that prevailed between Schultz and Weinberger over the use of force in responding to attacks by Hizb'allah is an example. Consequently, as these senior policy makers within the administration sought to limit the power and influence of the DCI and the NSA, they marginalised the intelligence community, particularly the CIA. As Dumbrell points out: "The great irony of the close Reagan-Casey relationship lay in the degree to which the administration actually chose to ignore CIA analysis."[166] While Casey enjoyed a special relationship with the president, this was certainly not the case with his cabinet colleagues. As they disagreed and mistrusted each other, it was inevitable that the respective institutions which the cabinet members headed would be ignored as a matter of principle.[167]

The administration became increasingly preoccupied with the wider ramifications of the Lebanese political dabacle and most notably, the failure of Israel to cooperate with the U.S. and to stick to its timetable for withdrawal. Syria's refusal to recognise the May 17 agreement caught the administration unawares, despite the fact that the intelligence community had quite pertinently warned them that Asad would not accept it.[168] The intelligence community and its Middle East analysts were almost unanimous in their reservations of Habib's strategy. Experienced in the intrigues of Syrian and Lebanese politics, they recognised and warned that of all the Middle Eastern leaders, Asad was one of the region's most determined, ambitious and fractious.[169] Analysts believed that Asad regarded

[165] Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.209-222

[166] See John Dumbrell, The Making of US Foreign Policy, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990), p.151

[167] Ibid., p.98

[168] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995.

[169] See David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, pp.8-9 and Robert G Neumann, "Assad and the

Lebanon as his own back yard and that he was determined to remain a major player in events in Lebanon and would not allow events to happen unless he could extract the maximum advantage for Syria.[170] Historically, this has always been the case. President Asad's motives in Lebanon were based upon security and economic interests. Since the 1970s, he had pursued a strategy of a greater Baathist economic sphere incorporating Lebanon.[171] The intelligence community failed to convey their reservations to the key policy makers in a manner in which the implications of Syria's greater ambitions were fully appreciated and acted upon. The problem, however, was not so much faulty analysis, as it was cognitive dissonance on the part of George Schultz and Philip Habib.

In addition to their analysis on Syria, the intelligence community believed that the Reagan Administration was overly optimistic about a speedy Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Furthermore the announcement of the Reagan Plan implied that Israel would have to relinquish its occupation of the West Bank. This infuriated Begin. In the Knesset he described the Reagan Plan as the biggest betrayal since the establishment of the state of Israel. This induced Israel to delay its compliance in the political settlement in Lebanon.[172] Consequently, the intelligence community who was sceptical about Israel's pliability and made this judgement known, was ignored by the administration and Philip Habib.

Future of the Middle East," Foreign Affairs, Vol.62, No.2, 1983, (Winter 83/84), p.254

[170] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview,** on November 15, 1995. See Patrick Searle, (1988), op.cit:, p.400 and Geoffrey Kemp, (1988), op.cit:, pp.57-60. See also Ze'ev Schiff, "Dealing with Syria," Foreign Policy, No.55, (Summer, 1984) and Helena Cobban, (1991), op.cit:, pp.31, & 44-57 and the editorial titled, "Asad the Spoiler," Middle East International, No.193, February 4, 1983

[171] See also Robert Olson, "Syria in the Maelstrom," Current History, No.83, January 1984, p.25

[172] For a detailed discussipon on the Reagan Plan and Israeli reaction, see George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.85 - 100. Also Dan Tschigri, (1989), op.cit:, pp.190-203 and David Kimche, The Last Option: After Nasser, Arafat and Sadam Hussein. The Quest For Peace in the Middle East, (London, Scribner's, 1991), p.157. See also U.S. House of Representatives Committee On Foreign Affairs, 101st Congress, 1st Session, Documents On Middle East Peace, 1982-88, April 1989, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1989)

With regard to the internal political climate in Lebanon itself, analysts questioned the fundamental wisdom of the administration's goal of unifying Lebanon.[173] Lebanon could not be described as a nation, it had no borders, it was even harder to identify a Lebanese citizen given the confessional divergence of its inhabitants.[174] The composition of the LAF in which the officers were predominantly Christians and the rank and file Muslims, made them question the viability of the LAF as a security force that would be loyal to a Christian led government. Lebanon's political players did not regard Bashir Gemayel as a statesman or a strongman.[175] The intelligence community viewed the Gemayels and the Phalangists as one of a number of religious-political factions within the confessional-politico morass of Lebanon.[176] This despite the fact that Bashir Gemayel had been on the payroll of the CIA. He had been recruited by the Agency when he worked at a law firm during the 1970s in Washington D.C.[177] Despite this long-standing relationship, they were sceptical about the recognition, legitimacy and Gemayel's ability to lead a strong enough coalition government.

Finally, the intelligence community together with the Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, and the Joint Chiefs of Staffs, warned against the utilisation of the Marines as an instrument of foreign policy and diplomatic bargaining in Lebanon.[178] The intelligence

---

[173] See Ronald Steel, "Why is the United States in Lebanon?," Parameters: Journal of the US War College, No.13, December 1983, pp.78-82, and David Kennedy (1988), op.cit:, p.12

[174] See Caspar Weinberger, (1990), op.cit:, p 135. also Douglas Watson, "In Lebanon, Hatred Clouds Issues of Peace," U.S. News & World Report, October 10, 1983, p.23

[175] For an overview of how sectarian overshadowed national loyalties and Gemayel's struggle to hold the Phalange factions together, see Geoffrey Bowder, "Lebanon's Struggle For Survival." World Today, No.39, (November 1983), pp.443-449

[176] See Dilip Hiro, (1993), op. cit:, pp.61-78; also David Gilmour, Lebanon: The Fractured Country, (London, Sphere Books, 1987), pp.196-197. See also Douglas Watson, "Why Road to Lebanon Peace is so Rocky," U.S. News & World Report, November 14, 1983. p.28

[177] See Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, (1990), op.cit:, p.265

[178] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C. See also Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, p.289

community warned that in the political mosaic of Lebanon, the Marines would not be able to maintain their neutrality. When the U.S. opened fire with the 6th Fleet on Druze militia positions the Suq al Gharb in support of the LAF, they violated the last remnants of their neutrality and immunity.[179] This argument was subsequently ignored by the State Department and the NSC staff. Inevitably when the U.S. government and the Marines tried to bolster the Lebanese government, their actions were indeed interpreted as partisan support for the Christian Phalangists.[180] In the published text of an open letter addressed by Hizb'allah to the downtrodden in Lebanon and the World, which was subsequently published on February 16, 1985, Hizb'allah's enmity towards the United States was demonstrated as that organisation accused America of arrogance and of reducing the status of Hizb'allah to, "...a handful of fanatics and terrorists who are only concerned with blowing up drinking, gambling and entertainment spots and other such activities."[181] The leadership of Hizb'allah conceptualised the U.S. as its enemy on a par with Zionism and Israel and as the primary source of vice aimed against Islam.[182]

Indicative of the traditionalist mentality that prevailed at the time, the intelligence community was not presented with a formal occasion in which to make its reservations about the Reagan Administration's policy in Lebanon known.[183] Their expectation was that once the

---

[179] In fact the U.S.S. New Jersey was not the first U.S. warship to fire at the Druze. On September 8, 1983, the destroyer U.S.S. Bowen fired at a Druze gun battery that had fired on a Marine compound next to the airport. On the morning of September 19, 1983, after McFarlane had sent his 'Sky is Falling Cable', (September 11) the destroyer U.S.S. John Rogers opened fire off the Lebanese peninsula at the Druze in the Suq Al Gharb. It was joined later that afternoon by the missile cruiser, U.S.S. Virginia. It was only joined later by the battleship, the U.S.S. New Jersey. See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, pp.506-507

[180] See Glen Hastedt, "Can Intelligence Agencies Learn: Reporting After The Terrorist Attack On The Marines in Lebanon," Seminar paper presented at the International Studies Association, Atlanta, (April 2, 1992), p.9

[181] See Augustus Richard Norton, (1987), op.cit:, pp.167-171

[182] Ibid., pp.171-172

[183] David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, p.9

administration requested a formal National Intelligence Estimate on the subject, they would have an opportunity to express their misgivings. Contrary to the intelligence community's expectations, however, the Reagan Administration did not issue a request for either a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) or a Special National Intelligence Estimate (SNIE) between 1982 and late October 1983, when Graham Fuller, the NIO at the time issued a request for a SNIE.[184]

The administration's failure to effectively task the intelligence community reflected their insufficient appreciation of the complex dynamics of the situation and their subsequent inability to recognise where the deficiencies in their information were rooted. Haig and Habib acted on their own initiative and in many instances attempted to bulldoze their policy initiatives through without prior consultation with the NSC. This fact is reflected in the frustration that was experienced by the National Security Advisor, William Clark, who had difficulty in following the objectives of Philip Habib and Alexander Haig.[185] Intelligence managers were frustrated during policy sessions with Habib and his inner decision making circle, who consistently demonstrated that they had already settled strategic and tactical questions in their own minds before consultations.[186] This left the intelligence representatives wondering why they had bothered to attended policy meetings in the first instance.

---

[184] During a telephone interview with the author, on November 15, 1995, Graham Fuller stated that he recalls placing the request for an SNIE in the summer (October) of 1983. He cannot recall, however, the total number of NIEs that were produced, but states that there were at least two. Following the administration's dissatisfaction with the analysis contained in the first report, Schultz and Casey specifically requested that a new NIE be undertaken which would take into consideration the assumption that Syria was well aware of the U.S. objectives and resolve in Lebanon. Fuller states that Casey passed the instruction on to him personally.

[185] See Alexander Haig, (1984), op.cit:, p.310

[186] David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, p.9

This strain in the relationship between the administration and the intelligence community resulted in their increased marginalisation and was a factor which inhibited the administration and the NSC staff from tasking the intelligence community effectively, not only at the beginning of the crisis, but as the administration experienced increasing resistance from the key players and emerging forces of Islamic fundamentalism in Lebanon. Throughout the intelligence community the perception existed that the administration was reluctant to request specific intelligence from the analysts because the administration resented the intelligence community's disapproval of its policy initiatives. In response to this claim, consumers argue that their reluctance to consult the intelligence community was due to the lack of intelligence that was available.[187] This alienation was reinforced by the intelligence community's perception that despite the availability of intelligence, the administration failed to respond or to alter its objectives accordingly.[188] Consequently, intelligence was only conveyed on an informal basis and in the form of point papers and lower-level artforms.[189] Talking points for DCI Casey and the Middle East National Intelligence Officers were produced on a daily basis who utilised them in their meetings with the president and at the assistant secretary level.[190]

Key intelligence items were also conveyed in Presidential Daily Briefs (PDBs) and in the National Intelligence Dailies (NIDs). The overall result was that intelligence was being disseminated and digested on a fragmented basis, whereas an overall comprehensive

---

[187] These explanations were made by Noel Koch, in a **telephone interview** on February 21, 1996 and also by Howard Teicher, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[188] Howard Teicher, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[189] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995

[190] See John A Gentry, Lost Promise: How CIA Analysis Misserves the Nation, (Boston, University Press of America, 1993), Chapter 3. *The Institution in Practice*, pp.21-66 and Loch K Johnson, America's Secret Power: The CIA in a Democratic Society, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), see the section *Production and Analysis*, pp.89-95

briefing became the missing dimension, because the request for a comprehensive analysis was never forthcoming at senior level, at least not before the Summer of 1983.[191] According to Fuller, the National Intelligence Officer for the Middle East after Robert Ames, the first NIE was issued in the summer of 1983 and after it was rejected by the principal cabinet members, predominantly, George Schultz and William Casey, the intelligence community was requested to undertake another analysis but to include in its estimate the premise that Syria recognised the determination of the U.S. to achieve its objectives in Lebanon and that the U.S. government would not be swayed.[192]

Notwithstanding the administration's reluctance to deal with the intelligence community with regards to its overall foreign policy in Lebanon, the necessity for intelligence in order to respond to acts of terrorism was being recognised, albeit in limited quarters. Despite his disdain of the CIA, George Schultz, advocated a strong-line approach in responding to terrorism, making it clear that any response was dependent upon sound intelligence.[193] However, it was not until April 1984 that the administration tasked the intelligence community to assist in the fight against terrorism when President Reagan signed the National Security Decision Directive 138.[194]

---

[191] Carolyn McGiffert Ekedahl, CIA analyst responsible for the analysis on the role of the Soviet Union in international terrorism, during a **telephone interview**, on October 31, 1995

[192] Graham Fuller, claims that he was approached by Casey personally with the request for a revised estimate, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on November 15, 1995

[193] Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:. p.180

[194] The implications of this NSDD are discussed in the following chapter.

3.2.2. Intelligence collection

Collecting intelligence with regards to terrorist organisations and their intentions, is one of the most difficult tasks that intelligence services have to deal with.[195] In Lebanon, collection was rendered more difficult given the nature of the objective and the consumer that it had to serve. In this instance the consumer was the Pentagon. The military establishment, however, was averse at the time to being used as the instrument in combating terrorism. Their reluctance was not only due to the fact that as a military institution they perceived the use of force to be reserved for the greatest threat to U.S. national security, i.e. war against the Soviet Union, but was also based on their sensitivity to public attitudes towards the utilisation of America's armed forces. As Jenkins points out: "A military campaign against terrorism seemed filled with the perils of imprecise missions, political constraints, and uncertain measures of success."[196] The Pentagon was reluctant to become involved in a mission that could discredit the military and affect their image, prestige and ultimately their relationship with Congress, as this could have had negative implications for their budget requirements. As a prerequisite for their involvement, the Pentagon stipulated that the intelligence community must be in a position to provide adequate intelligence which could identify targets and justify the use of military force and be prepared to divulge that intelligence.[197] These requirements were almost impossible for the intelligence community to deliver given the nature of their intelligence targets, the environment in which they were

---

[195] See Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, p.170

[196] See Brian M Jenkins, "The American Response to Terrorism," in Steven Spiegel, Mark Heller and Jacob Goldberg, (eds.), The Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East, (Los Angeles, Institute for Global Conflict and Cooperation, University of California, 1988), p.185. See also Gail Bass, Brian M Jenkins, Konrad Kellen and David Ronfeldt, Options of U.S. Policy on Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report R-2764-RC, July 1981)

[197] Ibid.

expected to collect information and the need to protect their sources of information.

Prospective intelligence agents are at a disadvantage when joining terrorist groups as they are often compelled to commit unlawful acts in order to prove their bona fides.[198] In most instances, terrorist groups organise themselves into tightly-knit cells, making infiltration almost impossible.[199] In Lebanon the situation was no different. Infiltration by intelligence agents was even more difficult because Hizb'allah recruited its followers from among family and along clan lines.[200] Its operations were carried out mainly by the Mughniya and Hamadi clans.[201] Infiltration and response was difficult given the nature of the terrorist groups and an environment that was much more complex because of the civil war. In addition, the organisation was protected from infiltration by its Special Security Apparatus (SSA) under the leadership of Muhamar Mughniya. He was the mastermind behind the group that was later responsible for the taking of Western hostages and the hijacking of TWA Flight 847. Their operations were planned and supported by a sophisticated and secretive network which involved Iranian diplomats who were instrumental in providing intelligence on prospective targets and the Pasdaran which supplied weapons, logistics and training.[202] The latter were elements of Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps who had

---

[198] See Robert S Dudney and Jeff Trimble, (July 8, 1985), op.cit:. p.30 and Stansfield Turner (1991), op.cit; p.175

[199] See John M Oseth, "Combatting Terrorism: The Dilemmas of a Decent Nation," Parameters, Vol.XV, No.1 and Ken Robertson, "Intelligence, Terrorism and Civil Liberties," in Paul Wilkinson and Alaisdair Stewart, (1989), op.cit:, pp.551-555

[200] See James B Motley, "Coping with the Terrorist Threat: The U.S. Intelligence Dilemma," in Stephen J Cimbala, (ed.), (1987), op.cit:, pp.168-170. See also the interview with former DCI William Colby in Newsweek, July 1, 1985, p.27

[201] For an overbiew of the composite clan elements and organisational structure of Hizb'allah, see Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:. p.117. See also William Casey, "International Terrorism: Potent Challenge to American Intelligence," remarks made at the Fletcher School of Diplomacy, Tufts University, April 17, 1988

[202] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:. p.120 and see the Wall Street Journal, August 16, 1989, the New York Times, March 14, 1986 and the Independent, April 26, 1988

established themselves in the Sheikh Abdullah Barracks in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley and who were the spearhead of the Ayatollah Khomeini's strategy to export his Islamic revolution.[203]

These difficulties made the collection of humint impossible and prevented the verification, integration and synchronisation between techint and humint. This detracted from the U.S. intelligence community's abilities to analyse its intelligence take effectively.

3.2.3 Evaluation and interpretation

The type of intelligence that was available to the NSC staff at most times throughout the crisis and even before the first embassy bombing was predominantly photographic and imagery intelligence that was supplied by the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO). Access to human intelligence sources remained difficult to acquire and scarce. The Sheikh Abdullah Barracks in the Bekaa Valley was consistently maintained as a high priority intelligence target which was set by the NSC staff.[204] Prior to the U.S. embassy bombing, the NRO were in possession of photographic evidence of a mock-up of the embassy at a training base in the Bekaa Valley.[205] The NRO analysts, however, were unaware of the significance of the evidence as provided by the imagery before them and were unable to relate this information to the layout of the U.S. embassy in Beirut. The failed to analyse the information because they were unable to interpret it in context of the threat posed to U.S. interests in Beirut.[206]

---

[203] See Bruce Hoffman, Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Iranian Sponsored International Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report No. R-3783-USDP, March 1990), pp.9-15

[204] Howard Teicher, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C

[205] Ibid.

[206] Unattributable **interview** with a former member of the DIA, Washington D.C., July 13, 1995. This was also confirmed by John Walcott, during an **interview,** on July 17, 1995, in Washington D.C.

While it can be argued that the administration should have correctly predicted the attack based upon the evidence mentioned, the information only assisted the NSC staff and the Marine's commanders to identify the potential target of the attack. It was, however, insufficient as far as determining the specific date and time that the attack would take place. Photographic intelligence is a reliable asset in determining intelligence with regards to the capabilities of an adversary. As a reconnaissance tool it is capable of providing physical and real-time proof of any change in quantifiable variables. For example, photoint may reveal an increase over time in the number of missile silos that have been build by the enemy, or it may produce physical evidence of troop concentrations. However, it remains a passive medium that is incapable of providing insight into the intentions and the minds of the enemy.[207] This remained *the* fundamental shortcoming in the intelligence community's capabilities in monitoring terrorist activity in Lebanon.

The extent and calibre of the administration's humint pertaining to the first embassy bombing that was collected, remains unknown. However, there are indications that the administration was in possession of a limited amount of warning intelligence prior to the attacks on the embassy and the Marine barracks in 1983. In an exchange between Under Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and Senators Smith and Levine during the Congressional Hearing on the U.S. embassy bombing held on June 28, 1984, Eagleburger was asked if the embassy had received any threats or warnings whatsoever before the bombing or any advance surreptitious information and if any threats had been received subsequent to the embassy bombing. Eagelburger responded that he would prefer to answer both questions during the executive session. Had the administration not been in possession of any intelligence to that

[207] For an overview of the comparison between technical and human intelligence collection techniques, see Abraham N Shulsky, (1991), op.cit:, see Chapter 2, Spies, Machines and Libraries: Collecting the Data, Comparison of Humint and Techint, pp.11-30

effect, he could have easily said so. His response suggests that the administration was, in fact, in possession of warning intelligence prior to the bombing of the U.S. embassy in 1983 and, because the information was classified, he could only respond to these questions during the executive session. The latter is limited to access by those senators who have received the necessary security clearances, and who are privy to classified information.[208]

The bombing episodes are pertinent examples of where disputes can arise over the difference between intelligence and policy failures. One the one hand, former NSC staff members claim that the administration was in possession of the necessary intelligence, but failed to respond because the policy makers at the most senior level failed to recognise the significance of the intelligence and the nature of the environment in Beirut. The unrealistic demands (rules of engagement) enforced upon the Marines by Caspar Weinberger arguably bear testimony to this fact.[209] On the other hand, senior policy makers allege that the failure cannot be attributed to them, but to the inadequate performance of the military officers on the scene who had in turn been let down by the intelligence system and by their own inefficiencies in taking adequate security precautions.[210]

While some of the reasons for the administration's failure to respond to the warnings must be attributed to a combination of the behaviour of the principal cabinet officers, who failed to recognise the

---

[208] U.S.Congress Hearing on the U.S. Embassy Bombing in Beirut, House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, June 28, 1983, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1983), pp.17-18

[209] Howard Teicher, former senior NSC Middle East staff member, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C. The same opinion was expressed by Vincent Cannistraro, during an **interview**, on July 21, 1995, McLean Virginia. This is also the view of John Walcott, **interview,** on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[210] See Caspar Weinberger, (1990), op.cit:, pp.161-166. Also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit;, pp.220-234. See also the U.S.Congress Hearing on the U.S. Embassy Bombing in Beirut, House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, June 28, 1983, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1983) and The Investigations Subcommittee on the Terrorist Bombing at Beirut International Airport, U.S. Congress Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, January 31, 1984 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1984) also confirmed by Geoffrey Kemp, former NSC staff member, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C.

implications of the facts as revealed to them by the intelligence community, and the difficulty that the CIA experienced in ascertaining the exact date of the attacks,[211] it should be recognised that intelligence gathering with regard to the intentions of terrorist groups remains one of the most difficult tasks that any intelligence community has to carry out. Another explanation for this failure was the fact that the NSC staff, who were the intermediary level between the intelligence community and the Cabinet, were actually adjudicating and implementing policy. They had resorted to this behaviour in the vacuum that had been created through President Reagan's indecisive management style and the stand-off between Caspar Weinberger and George Schultz.[212] The NSC staff displayed a cognitive resistance towards the intelligence that they received which was in conflict with the policy initiatives that they had implemented.

In contrast to the siege mentality that prevailed among the members of the diplomatic and intelligence community on the ground in Beirut, the intelligence community in Washington, situated in the White House, Langley and the Pentagon, were totally complacent. Intelligence information gathered in Beirut had mostly been collected by intelligence officers whose movements were restricted as a result of their hostile environment. Intelligence was essentially gathered by officers who liaised with their counterparts on the diplomatic cocktail circuit rather than through regular recruitment and debriefing activities of local agents.[213] Intelligence gathering through human

---

[211] See the statement of the Hon. Bill Nicols, the Chairman of the Investigations Subcommittee on the Terrorist Bombing at Beirut International Airport, U.S. Congress Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, January 31, 1984 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1984), p.3. This was also confirmed by Howard Teicher, **telephone Interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C

[212] See John Dumbrell, (1990), op.cit:, p.98

[213] John Walcott, during an **interview**, with the author on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C. This is a particularly difficult point to verify. The fact of the matter is that most of the CIA officers concerned were killed in the embassy bomb in 1983. Further efforts to obtain comments and opinions from analysts and consumers during that time were met with understandable reluctance out of respect for their fallen colleagues. However, during a second **telephone interview** between the author and Noel Koch, on June 19, 1996, the latter

assets, was mostly achieved by intelligence sharing between the U.S., its allies and the Lebanese Armed Forces, who were not renown for their unbiased or objective reporting.[214] Following the embassy attack in April 1983, the CIA's humint operations were conducted from out of its embassies in Tel Aviv and Cairo. The CIA was therefore geographically remote from its target area. Supplementing their poor human intelligence was signals intelligence which monitored communications between the Pasdaran in Ba'albek and the Iranian Embassies in Beirut and Damascus.[215]

In examining the phenomenon of terrorism in Lebanon, however, the intelligence community concentrated upon the symptoms and failed to examine the underlying causes more thoroughly.[216] To be specific, no tasking instructions were issued to the intelligence community to conduct an interrelated study of the effect of terrorism upon American foreign policy objectives in Lebanon. The intelligence community on its part did not offer any alternative view papers on the intentions and objectives of Syria or Iran. It did not examine the effects that the Israeli occupation of Lebanon and in particular, Beirut, had on the local Shi'ite population. Iran's influence exercised through the interaction between the Shi'ites and the Iranian Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) in the Bekaa Valley, was not fully appreciated.[217] If the intelligence community had conducted a more

---

stated that the quality of intelligence emanating from Beirut at the time did not leave him very impressed and that given the hostile environment, it would not have been unusual for collection to have taken place in restaurants and bars.

[214] For the interaction between the U.S. Marines in Beirut and the LAF, see Eric Hammel, (1985), op.cit. See Christopher Simpson, (1995), op.cit:, "National Security Decision Directive 128, Lebanon," p.362. Also Howard Teicher, former senior NSC Middle East staff member, during a **telephone interview**, October 23, 1995, Washington D.C

[215] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.293

[216] See Marc Celmer, Terrorism, U.S. Strategy and Reagan Policies, (London, Mansell Publishing Co., 1987), pp.26-27

[217] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.102. See also Christopher Dickey, "Assad and his Allies: Irreconcilable Allies," Foreign Affairs, Vol.66, No.1, (Fall 1987), pp. 58-76 and Christian Marshall, "Syria and Iran: A Strategic Alliance, 1979-1991," Orient, Vol.33, No.3, (September 1992), pp. 433-446

thorough interpretation and integrated their findings with the crisis management principle of the limitation of objectives, their analysis could have identified the faulty assumptions upon which the administration's Lebanon policy had been construed. Having made that observation, however, there is still no guarantee that, given the cognitive dissonance that prevailed within the NSC staff and the policy makers, that it would have made any difference. As the events in this case study demonstrate, the availability of intelligence does not necessarily guarantee good decision making.

An indication of this complacency was demonstrated by the fact that there had been no request from the decision making community for a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) on Lebanon. NIEs represent the most authoritative analysis on a subject by the U.S. intelligence community and is the most ambitious and comprehensive information that combines current intelligence with prediction on how a specific situation is expected to evolve.[218] NIEs are usually generated by decision makers and officials who operate at the intelligence - policy making - interface level, such as the NSA or NIOs who are appointed by the National Intelligence Council as case officers on specific topics of importance to national security, such as terrorism and weapons' proliferation.[219] Notwithstanding the flaws in their collection and analysis, the distribution of intelligence from the analytical community via their managers and the NSC staff to the NSC presented a further obstacle as will be explained below.

---

[218] See Abram N Shulsky, (1991), op.cit:, pp.57-58. See also Roy Godson, Intelligence Requirements for the 1980s, Analysis and Estimates, (Washington, D.C., National Strategy Information Centre, 1982), pp.1-11

[219] For a comprehensive explanation of the analysis production process and the interface between the intelligence and policy making communities, see Jeffrey T Richelson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.433-437. See also Richard K Betts, "American Strategic Intelligence: Politics, Priorities, and Direction," in Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr, Uri Ra'anan and Warren Milberg, (1981),op.cit:, pp.245-263. For an overview more pertinent to the Reagan Administration, see John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, pp.447-481

3.2.4 Dissemination and communication

In the absence of the call for a National Intelligence Estimate and given the strained relationship between the intelligence community and the administration, intelligence was distributed on a fragmented and uncoordinated basis. Where intelligence was formally disseminated from the intelligence community to the consumers, it was retarded by the bureaucratic pathology, lengthy chain of command and the analysis review process itself.[220] The chain of command ran from Washington to Nato Headquarters in Mons, Belgium. From there it proceeded to Stuttgart, then to the Commander U.S. Naval forces in Naples, then to the deputy Naval Commander Europe in London. From the UK it was then routed to the Commander of the Sixth Fleet in Gaeta, Italy and then to the Commander of the Marine Amphibious Unit at Beirut airport.[221] Geographical proximity, or rather the lack of it, compounded by this convoluted chain of command isolated the intelligence community from the dynamics of the problem.[222] Consequently the intelligence analysts in Washington and those stationed in Stuttgart were remote and divorced from the circumstances on the ground in Beirut.[223] The Marine commanders in Beirut would not necessarily have had an appreciation of the wider political ramifications, nor of the administration's internal dysfunction in Washington. There was no platform whereby the respective perceptions of the analysts situated in Washington, at the European Command Headquarters in Stuttgart,

---

[220] Refer to the section on multiple producer - consumer relationships and the Intelligence Production Process in the previous chapter.

[221] See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p. 108.

[222] See Eric Hammel, (1985), op.cit:, p.91

[223] See the statement of the Hon. Bill Nicols, the Chairman of the Investigations Subcommittee on the Terrorist Bombing at Beirut International Airport, U.S. Congress Committee on Armed Services House of Representatives, Ninety-Eighth Congress, January 31, 1984 (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1984), p.3. See also David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p. 108

and at ground zero in Beirut could be compared, let alone synchronised.[224]

The administration's failure to appreciate the nature and modus operandi of Hizb'allah prevented them from implementing the necessary changes to the intelligence distribution process. The speed with which intelligence was processed and conveyed between the intelligence community and the military commanders in Beirut was too cumbersome and time consuming. Neither the government nor the intelligence community had a coherent understanding of the problem of Islamic fundamentalism.[225]

In all crises, communication remains the pivotal link. This does not only apply to communication between the bureaucratic elements of government, but between the authorities and its adversaries, allies, the media and the public. The principles pertaining to intelligence dissemination in the intelligence cycle and the principles of communication and legitimacy in crisis management are interrelated and provide the core framework in the analysis of the role of intelligence in crisis management. In the Lebanon crisis, however, the underlying problem was not just the manner in which intelligence was disseminated but must also be attributed to the fact that the decision makers were essentially not receptive to the evidence that the intelligence community passed on. The dynamics in the producer - consumer relationship played a major part in influencing the crisis.

---

[224] See the U.S. Congress, Senate, Congressional Record, 98th Cong., 2nd Session, 1984:S359. This fact is supported by the comments of the Long Commission which recommended that in order to deal with terrorism, "...the Secretary of Defense directs the Joint Chiefs of Staff to develop a broad range of appropriate military responses to terrorism for review, along with political and diplomatic actions, by the National Security Council." The Commssion also concluded that, "...U.S. forces were not trained, organized, staffed or supppрted to deal effectively with the terrorist threat in Lebanon." See also Marc Celmer, (1987), op.cit:, p.88

[225] See the comments made by former DCI Robert Gates in James Adams, (1994), op.cit:, p.237

3.2.5 The producer - consumer relationship

The producer consumer relationship is not confined to the function of intelligence alone. In the context of crisis management, this relationship hinges upon the fundamental understanding between the intelligence community and the policy maker on the nature of the threat that the crisis posits against the policy objectives, values and norms of the consumer. It also relates to the objectives that the policy maker pursues in responding to the emergency, the methods used, the perceived legitimacy of the authorities response measures in the eyes of the public and allies, and the manner in which all information is conveyed between the policy maker and their external environment by the intelligence community. This concept provides the linkage between the components of the intelligence cycle and the principles of crisis management, as the following sections will demonstrate.

The underlying tenets of Sherman Kent and the traditionalist orthodoxy which kept the analysts at arms length from the policy makers and the NSC staff prevented the intelligence community from enjoying greater exposure and insight into the administration's policy and strategy.[226] In this instance blind adherence to traditionalist discipline had disastrous consequences. In many instances, intelligence analysts tend to assume that consumers have made policy decisions only after having given due consideration to relevant intelligence.[227]

The dissemination of intelligence is conducted in a manner that presupposes that consumers are competent and adept at screening useful items from intelligence analyses and applying these to the policy at hand. When William Corbett, the Marine's intelligence support analyst who was stationed in Stuttgart reported to the Marine

---

[226] David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:. p.11

[227] See John A Gentry, (1993), op.cit:. pp.255-256

commanders that Hizb'allah had conducted no less than 118 car bomb attacks against their enemies during the past thirteen months, he assumed that the significance of the information would be appreciated by the commanding officers in Beirut and that they would implement the necessary physical measures accordingly.[228] When Robert McFarlane insisted that the U.S. navy shell Druze positions in the Shouf mountains in support of the LAF, CIA officers who were also on the scene in Beirut warned quite explicitly against any such action on the grounds that it would reinforce the perception among the Muslim forces that America was a military ally of the LAF. They warned that this would result in an escalation of violent acts against U.S. ground forces. They believed that their advice would be heeded, but were surprised to learn that McFarlane had despatched his cable to Washington without their concurrence, thus demonstrating a clear failure on the part of McFarlane and the members of the NSC to appreciate the implications of intelligence advice.[229]

From the perspective of the intelligence community, this faulty assumption can contribute to a lack of interaction between key policy making individuals and intelligence analysts. Consequently analysts underestimated the value of closer interpersonal contact between themselves and policy makers. In the case of Lebanon, the organisational structure of the U.S. military forces and their support services, such as their intelligence analysts who were stationed in Germany as opposed to Beirut, compounded this lack of interaction. Distance prevented regular contact and reduced opportunities to present alternative views and policy options to decision makers.[230]

---

[228] See Martin and Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.107-108

[229] Comments made by William Beck, former U.S. navy intelligence communications officer in Beirut, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on August 2, 1995

[230] Geoffrey Kemp, former NSC staff member, in an **interview**, with the author on July 19, 1995, Washington. This this was also confirmed by Grahan Fuller former NIO for Middle East, in a **telephone interview**, with the author on October 28, 1995.

In Washington, this barrier was reinforced by the tendency of the administration to substitute the intelligence community with the NSC staff. This was reflected in the role that the NSC staff came to play as intelligence analysts, combined with their responsibility as policy advocates for the administration, and later on when they were used to circumvent legislation and acted as a vehicle for carrying out covert operations.[231] The use of the NSC staff as a medium for conducting covert operations was a loophole that was used by the activists within the Reagan Administration, and in particular William Casey, to circumvent the restrictions placed upon the intelligence community by the Hughes-Ryan Amendment Act.[232] It was also used by Casey and Robert McFarlane to overcome the bureaucratic impasse that prevailed between Schultz and Weinberger.[233] According to Kemp, the deadlock between Schultz and Weinberger over Lebanon convinced some Reagan followers, especially Casey and NSC staffer Lt. Col. Oliver North, that a capability should be developed to conduct covert operations outside the system.[234] This practice reinforced the role of the NSC staff as an alternative intelligence body. Thus the locus of the responsibility for intelligence analysis which served the Reagan Administration throughout the Middle East crisis was effectively transferred from the domain of the intelligence community to that of the policy maker. This created a precedent upon which further covert action was based and paved the way for the use of the NSC staff to facilitate the illegal arms transfers

---

[231] See Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.433 and Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, pp.12-13

[232] The Hughes-Ryan Ammendment Act was legislation passed by Congress during the Ford administration and following William Colby's testimony before Congress on the CIA and its covert activities in the aftermath of Watergate. In terms of the Act, the DCI is obliged to make a written presidential finding when authorising any covert operation affecting the national security of the U.S. and to notify Congress in a timely fashion of the description and scope of the operation. It does not require the president to obtain permission or to notify Congress prior to embarking upon such operation. See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.403

[233] Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, pp.399 & 453

[234] See Geoffrey Kemp, (1988), op.cit:p.67

between the USA, Israel and Iran, which led to the Iran-Contra affair.[235]

The distinction between policy and intelligence failures is often confusing. Therefore evaluating case studies on the basis of measuring an actor's behaviour according to the components and principles of the intelligence cycle alone is an inadequate method since the intelligence cycle does not offer any insight into the principles that govern crisis decision making. An integrated approach which combines the elements of both the analysis process and the principles of crisis management offers a framework for a more interrelated analysis. In the producer - consumer relationship, there should always be a clear-cut understanding between the parties involved as to the objectives of the policy maker. The objectives sought must be clearly defined and understood. Whereas policy objectives reflect ambitions, during crises the influence of extraordinary circumstances and the fact that core values and objectives are being threatened, may exert pressure to alter or at least limit their scope and the means employed to achieve them. This includes avoiding decisions that cannot be implemented or enforced[236] The Reagan Administration failed to appreciate this factor during the Lebanon crisis. Once they found themselves under attack from Islamic fundamentalist forces, no reappraisal of their overall objectives in Lebanon was conducted. There is no evidence to suggest that a new threat analysis was conducted, which factored in the reasons and motives behind the terrorist attacks. The civil war environment in Beirut blurred their conceptual vision and perception that the attacks were not only a symptom of the civil war, but that they were part of a concerted strategy that was being used by Hizb'allah,

---

[235] During Tower Board Hearing, Senator Edmund Muskie stated that during the Reagan Administration it was not the NSC system that was faulty, but the manner in which the system itself was abused which led to the Iran-Contra affair.See the Tower Board-NSC Function Hearing, U.S. Congress, Joint Hearing of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives,One Hundredth Congress, (April 30, 1987), p.5

[236] See Patrick Lagadec, (1993),op.cit. pp.263

Syria and Iran in an effort to coerce the U.S. administration to abandon its Lebanon policy.

Given the fact that the U.S. was under physical attack, they did not alter their objectives and limit their immediate actions to dealing with or responding to the threat of terrorism while continuing with their overall policy objectives. It is essential for both parties to remain informed vis a vis any change in objectives and any changes in circumstances which may affect the means employed in the pursuit of policy goals. The crux of the problem, however, remains the receptivity of the consumer to the information that he receives and how he responds to it. If he chooses to ignore the intelligence, despite its availability, then there is not much more that the intelligence community can do. This is where the activist discipline advocates greater involvement of the intelligence community towards exercising greater influence over the will of the consumer to listen to and to respond to intelligence.

Intelligence does not only provide information pertaining to the crisis. It is an essential tool in the crisis management machinery because it provides feedback to the policy maker and the crisis management team about the reaction of the external environment to their response initiatives.[237] The Reagan Administration and in particular Robert McFarlane, who succeeded William Clark as the NSA, ignored this principle at a crucial point in time in the Lebanon crisis. By failing to listen and appreciate the comments of the intelligence community about the potential consequences of using naval gunfire in support of the LAF, the administration ignored feedback from the external environment, illustrating the point made above. This blunder may have been the first step in the crisis which inadvertently caused the administration to fail in Lebanon.

---

[237] The importance of communication in crisis management is described by Coral Bell, (1971), op.cit:, p. 37. For the necessity of feedback from the policy maker to the intelligence community see Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, p.131 and Robert Jervis, "What's Wrong with the Intelligence process?" International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.1, No.1, Spring 1986, pp.36-37 and Harry Howe Ransom, The Intelligence Establishment, (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1970).

Adherence to traditionalist principles contributed towards the maintenance of distance between the intelligence community and the policy makers and in this instance inhibited closer interaction which prevented the administration from effectively understanding and anticipating the reactions of its external environment and its adversaries towards it policy objectives. This problem was rooted in the policy makers' reluctance to listen to the intelligence community because their advice ran contrary to the policy that the administration was pursuing.

In addition to the role of the intelligence community in providing feedback to the crisis management system, the structure of that system and the interface mechanism between the intelligence community and the crisis response team, influences the producer - consumer relationship. This is apparent in the manner in which administrations structure their crisis contingency capabilities.

3.3 The creation of crisis contingency capabilities.

Each presidential administration designs its own crisis management system. The structure of the system, however, varies in accordance with the management style and personality of the serving president.[238] In the following discussion, the difference in the national security management styles of Presidents Nixon, Carter and Bush are briefly explained in order to demonstrate the Reagan Administration's crisis management system which evolved from the structure of its antecedent administrations but which did not, however, conform to either one of the presidential or secretarial management systems, as demonstrated below.

[238] For a detailed account of how each president structured and managed their crisis management systems, see Joe Schoemaker, (1991), op.cit:, and John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, and Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit.

President Nixon, for example, was obsessed with the potential for opposing views and leaks within the State Department, the bureaucracy and the NSC structure.[239] His obsessive distrust of the NSC led him to authorise the Federal Bureau of Investigation to carry out wire-taps on the phones of key NSC staff members, such as Morton Halperin, Helmut Sonnenfeldt and Daniel Davidson.[240] Together with Henry Kissinger, he implemented an acute form of the presidential system, using backchannel methods and relying on select individuals both within and without the administration, many of whom were not part of the NSC system to provide them with the relevant information that they required towards resolving crises. Kissinger in his capacity as NSA, was at times solely responsible for crisis decision making. Consequently, President Nixon and Henry Kissinger succeeded in isolating and frustrating all the departments that dealt with the NSC thereby reducing the NSC to an empty shell.[241] Nowhere was this more apparent than during the crisis of the Yom Kippur War in October 1973. During the war Nixon received a strongly worded cable from the Soviet President Leonoid Brezhnev to the effect that should the U.S.- USSR effort to enforce a Middle East cease-fire fail, the Soviets would act unilaterally to prevent the destruction of the Egyptian Eighth Army. To emphasise their point, the Soviets placed seven airborne divisions on alert and deployed an eighty-five vessel flotilla to the Mediterranean. After consultation with President Nixon, who was distracted by the resignation of vice president Spiro Agnew and the Watergate crisis,[242] Kissinger held a mini-rump NSC meeting acting as both the Secretary of State and

---

[239] See Henry Kissinger, The White House Years, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1979), p.30. See Also John Prados, (1991), op.cit:. pp.261-265

[240] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:.pp.361-362

[241] See Ray S Cline, "Policy Without Intelligence," Foreign Policy, No.17, (Winter 1974-75)

[242] William B Quandt, Peace Process, American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967, (Washington D.C., the Brookings Institute Press, 1993), p.162.

National Security Advisor, together with the newly appointed Secretary of Defence, James Schlesinger. Also in attendance were William Colby the DCI and Generals Haig and Scowcroft of the White House staff. Colby attended as an observer only and not as an NSC member. Kissinger dominated the NSC procedure, not unlike most other instances where he presented Nixon with resolutions for approval in one-on-one discussions. The Secretary of Defence concurred with Kissinger's foregone decision to respond diplomatically and to simultaneously send a strong negative signal to the Soviets against unilateral action. While Kissinger replied to the Soviets that the U.S. would not tolerate Soviet intervention through the deployment of its forces in the Middle East, Schlesinger ordered the Chairman of the JCS, Admiral Thomas Moorer to place U.S. strategic forces on Defence Condition-Three (DEFCON III).[243]

This management style was contrary to the spirit of the NSC structure, whose purpose it was to provide the president with as broad an opinion as possible on matters affecting national security. It thus prevented Nixon from the benefit of wider representation and input from the both the intelligence community and the National Security Council during crises. While the intelligence community gained in importance in terms of its involvement and utilisation in domestic surveillance and covert operations, it found itself restricted and therefore limited in its participation in crisis management during Nixon's tenure.[244]

Under President Carter, the White House Situation Room served as the official crisis management structure.[245] The responsibility for crisis management fell directly under the National Security Advisor who chaired the Special Coordinating Committee (SCC) of the NSC.

---

[243] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:,pp.392-393. See also William B Quandt, (1993), op.cit:, p.173

[244] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, pp.350-354

[245] Admiral Stansfield Turner, former DCI of the CIA under President Carter, **interview**, on July 23, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia.

The crisis management system was designed by his NSA, Zbigniew Brzezinski, in accordance with the Presidential system of national security management.[246] Having taken over office in the wake of Watergate and given the CIA's involvement, the Carter administration's marginalisation of the intelligence community was to be expected.[247] These arrangements did not suit everybody in the Carter administration. The DCI, Stansfield Turner, lamented the fact that the White House Situation Room maintained an obsessive desire for raw intelligence, which circumvented the normal analytical process of the intelligence community and which could lead to the decisions and response initiatives being implemented without the benefit of objective analysis from the intelligence experts.[248]

As a former DCI turned president, George Bush tended to act as his own analyst during crises. President Bush believed that over the years, the NSC had been diverging away from its intended purpose which was to advise on decided policy decisions and to assist in the integration of policy. In his opinion the NSC was never intended to function as an integral component of the policy making loop. He was opposed to the increased access of the National Security Advisor to the oval office on the grounds that it created the opportunity for the NSC staff to encroach upon policy making. During the Carter and Reagan Administrations the power and function of the NSA inadvertently created two secretaries of state and two secretaries of defence, who were always in competition with one another.[249] President Bush's views on the NSC system can be traced back to his eligibility as an ideal candidate for the position of DCI under the Ford administration. His appointment to the position on January 30, 1976,

---

[246] See Brzezinski, (1985), op.cit:, pp.59-60.

[247] See Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.425. See also See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.51

[248] See Admiral Stansfield Turner, (1986), op.cit:, p.263

[249] See George Bush, Looking Forward, (New York, Doubleday Publishers, 1987), p.173.

was made by a president who was driven by the need to rebuild confidence in America's government institutions and to re-establish congressional trust in the CIA, following the Watergate scandal.[250]

President Bush held strong views on the role and function of the CIA and the NSC in line with the traditionalist approach. In his previous government assignment as U.S. ambassador to China, he had experienced the management style of the former Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, who had allowed him little room for manoeuvre. This contributed towards the marginalisation of the NSC during his administration, which also realised the exclusion of the intelligence community from crisis decision making. A few years later, President Bush's penchant for excluding the intelligence community was evident during the Gulf War. Then his administration's crisis team excluded the DCI of the CIA, William Webster, from its decision making deliberations.[251] Following the Gulf War and by his own admission, President Bush stated that the intelligence community, and in particular the CIA, had performed well and that they (White House) had received good intelligence prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This significance of Bush's statement is to be found in what he did not say rather than in his praise for the CIA's performance. Implicit was the fact that whereas the Agency had performed well, the White House had failed to respond adequately to the warning intelligence that had been provided preceding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. This point was also made by Senator Boren who praised the CIA's assessments for July and August prior to the crisis. The New Jersey Democratic Congressman, Robert Torricelli, also stated that, "There may have been a better understanding of the intelligence situation than a comprehension by policy makers of the implications of what was taking place."[252]

---

[250] See Mark Perry, (1992), op.cit:, pp.135-139.

[251] Charles Cogan, "Intelligence and Crisis Management," Intelligence and National Security, London, Frank Cass, Vol.9 No.4 (October 94), pp.634-635

[252] See (no author), the Washington Post, August 4, 1991.

President Bush's crisis management style can be criticised on the basis that it was highly selective. During his tenure as DCI, and following the assassination of the U.S. ambassador Francis. E. Meloy in Beirut on June 16, 1976, President Ford called an emergency meeting of the NSC in the White House Situation Room where Bush was requested to advise on the policy option of ordering the evacuation of Lebanon of all U.S. citizens.[253] In effect at this juncture in his career he acted in a typical activist fashion by advocating policy. This incident and the U.S. response in evacuating its personnel may also have contributed to the rationale behind Syria and Hizb'allah's terrorist strategy in Beirut during the Reagan Administration a few years later. Having observed that the U.S. government pulled its troops out as soon as their casualties began to mount and incur domestic criticism, Hizb'allah may have realised that in order to force the Reagan Administration to withdraw from Beirut, all it needed to do was to place the administration in a similar position. The fact that raw intelligence was being fed directly into the White House, as alluded to by Stansfield Turner, is testimony to the danger of crisis management being conducted according to unevaluated intelligence information and the marginalisation of intelligence analysts from the crisis management process.

During the Reagan Administration the National Security Council staff and in particular, its Crisis Pre- Planning Group (CPPG), functioned as the interface between incoming intelligence reports, diplomatic cables, press reports and the principal members of the NSC. The CPPG was an interactive body comprised of senior-level officials from the NSC member agencies. Not all of its members were trained analysts. It was responsible for providing support during crisis management by analysing the collective information and in preparing response options in advance for use by the Special Situation Group

---

[253] See George Bush, (1987), op.cit:, pp.171-172.

(SSG).[254] The SSG functioned as an interagency crisis management body and was created by President Reagan in 1982 and chaired by Vice President George Bush.[255] In effect, the CPPG not only provided staff support to the SSG and the NSC during crises, but became its analytical arm.[256] When Robert McFarlane replaced Philip Habib as the administration's Middle East envoy, he was also the deputy NSA. Technological innovation equipped McFarlane with a tacsat which facilitated encrypted and direct satellite communications between himself in Beirut and the NSA William Clark in Washington D.C. Owing to the fact that McFarlane was Clark's deputy and aided by this technological innovation, a back channel which bypassed the entire policy making and national security bureaucracy effectively enabled the NSC staff to function on an operational basis and without the insight and advice of the security and intelligence community.[257] Consequently the epi-centre for intelligence analysis was transferred from the domain of the intelligence community to the NSC staff and its CPPG components which functioned as policy-option auxiliaries to the formal National Security Council and President Reagan.

During the Reagan Administration the problem of international terrorism remained near the centre stage of its foreign policy.[259] Despite the shortcomings that the Reagan Administration inherited

---

[254] For an explanation of how the NSC staff were supported during crises by the CPPG, see the chapter 15 by former NSA Robert McFarlane, titled, "The National Security Council: Organistion for Policy Making," in R.G. Hoxie (ed.), (1984), op.cit:, p.270-271

[255] See Scott D. Breckinridge, (1986), op.cit:, pp. 14-21 and John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.456.

[256] Howard Teicher, former NSC and CPPG member during the Reagan Administration, responsible for the Middle East, in a **telephone interview**, on October 16, 1995

[257] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.472

[259] See Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC's Midlife Crisis," Foreign Policy, No.69, Winter 1987-88, p.97 and The Reagan Administration De-classified National Security Council Document in terms of the Freedom of Information Act: National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) Number 3, December 14, 1981 Crisis Management

[259] See Glen Hastedt, (Spring 1988), op.cit:, p.11

from previous administrations' failures to develop adequate counter terrorist capabilities,[260] the president attempted to make institutional provision for greater coordination of counterintelligence capabilities towards combating international terrorism. This is reflected in terms of National Security Decision Directive 30, whereby the responsibility for responding to various types of terror attacks against U.S citizens or interests, was divided among the major federal agencies. Under NSDD 30, the administration sought to coordinate intelligence gathering, response training and command authority for handling such incidents prior to their occurrence. It created a new Interdepartmental Group on Terrorism chaired by the State Department which was responsible for policy coordination pertaining to terrorism.[261] According to Simpson, "...still classified sections of the memo gave an interagency committee of the NSC staff the responsibility for antiterrorist operations, under Lt.Col. Oliver North."[262]

In spite of the initiatives shown in NSDD 30, the contingencies that the administration attempted to implement failed to have any effect. The fragmented nature of the intelligence community and more pertinently, the nature of the producer - consumer relationship, contributed to this failure. The intelligence imperative dictates that for any organisation to be able to implement crisis management effectively, it must be in possession of relevant information pertaining to the potential crises that may befall that organisation as well as an appraisal of its own capabilities and vulnerabilities. In this instance traditionalist behaviour regulated the relationship between the intelligence community and the White House and acted as a barrier that detracted from this principle. Bureaucratic competition,

---

[260] See Oliver North and William Novak, (1991), op.cit:. p.47

[261] Paul Bremmer, former US ambassador on Terrorism and senior member of Kissinger Associates, New York, during a **telephone interview**, in New York, July 11, 1995

[262] Christopher Simpson, (1995), op.cit:. p.61

divisiveness and tensions prevented the organisations from co-operating as a unified whole against terrorism and compromised whatever advantages there were to be gained from the wider expertise available throughout the federal agencies.[263]

With regard to the actual foreign policy problem in Lebanon itself, there is no evidence to suggest that the question, "What would the administration do in the event that Habib and Schultz's initiative to restore the Lebanese Christian government and to secure a withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, failed?" was ever asked. While some members of the administration assumed that their strategy would work, those that did not, such as Caspar Weinberger and the JCS, did all that they could to obstruct the policy through their intransigence and lack of co-operation.[264] An example of their heel dragging was the last minute withdrawal by the U.S. from participating with France in the reprisal air strike against the Sheikh Abdullah Barracks in the Bekaa Valley, following the bomb attacks against their barracks in Beirut.[265]

Although one may question the legitimacy of defining the attacks themselves as crisis incidents, they had a severe effect on U.S. policy. They exposed the tension between Schultz and Weinberger and demonstrated the paralysis that gripped the administration and its inability to respond with military force making it abundantly clear to the perpetrators that the USA was impotent in the face of terror attacks.[266] The bombing attacks struck at the very heart of President Reagan's Middle East policy.[267] Media focus on the sensational

---

[263] See the comments of Robert McFarlane to the *Washington Post*, cited in John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.483

[264] Geoffrey Kemp, former NSC staff member, **interview**, on July 19, 1995

[265] See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.138-139, for an account of how the JCS and Caspar Weinberger were reluctant, and in the end failed to carry out the NSC decision made on November 14, 1983, to join the French and conduct a retaliatory raid. See also Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, p.525

[266] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit.

[267] Robert Fisk, "Bomb Toll Rises to 39 at U.S. Embassy," Times, April 19, 1983

aspects of the attacks projected the Reagan Administration's policy objectives into the public arena and generated scepticism in Congress,[268] as Senator Barry Goldwater warned that, "...the United States was heading for trouble in Lebanon."[269]

The terrorist attacks were pre-emptive propaganda strikes against the Reagan Administration. In the words of one of its erstwhile NSC staff members, Lt.Col. Oliver North, "It is a fundamental rule of politics that whoever gets his side of the story out first is usually able to set the agenda for the ensuing discussion."[270] What Syria and its Shi'ite allies had accomplished, however, was to set the agenda for the debate in America about its Lebanon policy and ultimately the Reagan Administration's political defeat at the hands of Syria and her allies. They had accomplished this through the use of terrorism as a strategy. They played right into Asad's hands when they deployed their forces in an area of Beirut where he controlled the local militias, while they believed that they were carrying out a peacekeeping role.[271]

During his twentieth press conference on October 21, 1983, which was two days prior the bombing of the Marine barracks, President Reagan was questioned extensively by the media over the number of casualties and U.S. policy and resolve in the Middle East. In his response he stated that despite Syria's efforts to undermine the process that, "...the U.S. would stay the course..."[272] Whatever Syria's level of complicity in the attack, and given President Reagan's

---

[268] See William E Smith and Robert Suro, "Lebanon Takes its Toll," Time, September 1983, pp.14-17

[269] Ronald Reagan, (1990), op.cit:, p.461 and Christopher Walker, "Little sign of Israel softening terms for troop withrdawal," Times, April 20, 1983, p.7

[270] See Oliver North (1991), op.cit:, p.7

[271] See James Kelly and Robert Suro, "Syria: Clashing with the U.S. Bidding for a Bigger Role," Time, December 19, 1983, p.16

[272] See Nicholas Ashford, "Reagan pledges to stay course on Middle East and Euromissiles," Times, October 21, 1983. See also "Statement by Deputy Press Secretary Larry Speakes on U.S. Marine Casualties in Lebanon, September 6, 1983," in Public Papers of President Reagan, (US Government Printing Office, 1984), Vol I, pp.417-419

statement to the press, there can be no doubt that the incident could not have occurred at a more opportune moment in time for Syria.

Another consequence of the attacks was the allegation that the intelligence community had failed. These charges were made by Congress, the media and the defence establishment.[273] One of the reasons for these allegations was the fact that those who accused the intelligence community had little understanding of the difficulty for any intelligence service in trying to access terrorist organisations. The CIA was operating in an area that was extremely dangerous and effectively a *denied area* to their operations personnel. It was not until 1987, however, before they attempted to break the siege and recruit informants among Nabih Berri's Amal militia, with limited success.[274]

Apart from the problem in collecting intelligence information, the failure was rooted in the bureaucratic labyrinth that intelligence products had to follow before these reached the consumers and the failure of the consumers to appreciate the implications of what the intelligence was indicating. Ultimately these incidents which raised questions about the legitimacy of U.S. involvement and policy in Lebanon, also demonstrated the necessity for contingency planning to consider the reaction of the media and public in responding to adverse and negative incidents. This principle dovetails with the importance of ensuring legitimacy for crisis response amongst one's public and allies.

---

[273] Glen Hastedt, (Spring 1988), op.cit:, p.11

[274] Mark Perry, (1992), op.cit:, p.83

3.4 The principle of legitimacy

In crisis management the objective behind the principle of legitimacy is to secure the maximum amount of domestic and international support for response strategies and initiatives, while simultaneously undermining sympathy and support for the adversary.[275] In the domestic context it is necessary to educate the public about the inherent difficulties encountered when dealing with crises. Through communicating with the public and making one's position known, the level of stress induced upon the political leadership can be reduced,[276] and a conduit for feedback on the amount of support that the authorities enjoy for their strategy and initiatives can be determined.[277] In addition to securing domestic support, it is also necessary to obtain political support from allies for the coordination and implementation of any initiative. Where crises involve more than one state actor, this is necessary in order to avoid any cross-purpose activities as well as any potential confusion and tensions from arising.[278]

The role of the intelligence community with regard to this principle is to monitor the reaction of the public, allies and the adversary and to provide feedback to the crisis management team and the policy maker throughout the crisis. This is another area where the

---

[275] See Hanspeter Neuhold, "Principles and Implementation of Crisis Management, Lessons From the Past," in Daniel Frei (ed.), International Crisis and Crisis Management, (London, Saxon House, 1978), pp.8-9

[276] For an overview of the effects of stress on decsiion makers during crises and terrorist incidents, particularly hostage-taking incidents, see Margaret G Hermann and Charles F Hermann, "Hostage taking, the presidency, and stress," in Walter Reich, (ed.), Origins of Terrorism: Psychologies, Ideologies, Theologies, States of Mind, (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.211-222 and Alexander George, "Adaptation to Stress in Political Decision-Making: The Individual, Small Group and Organisational Contexts," in George V Coelho, David Hamburg and John E Adams, (eds.), Coping and Adaptation, (New York, Basic Books, 1974)

[277] See Ronald Crelinsten and Alex Schmidt, "Western Responses to Terrorism: A Twenty-Five Year Balance Sheet," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, (Winter 1992), pp.322-330

[278] See Paul Wilkinson, "Proposals for Government and International Responses to Terrorism," in idem (ed.), (1981), op.cit.

administration failed. It neglected to consider the objectives of Israel[279] and inadvertently found itself embroiled in public and international controversy over the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and that country's subsequent involvement in the Sabra and Shatila massacres.[280] Of greater significance, however, was the fact that the U.S. involvement in Lebanon was a direct consequence of Israel's invasion of Lebanon in the first place.

In Lebanon the principle of legitimacy worked against the Reagan government and was the focal point which led to a split in the cabinet between the military and diplomatic establishments. The division in the administration became all the more apparent in its attempts to respond to the terrorist attacks which exacerbated its frustration. Vice President George Bush, Caspar Weinberger and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John Vessey, all concurred in their belief that the United States could not commit its armed forces in support of foreign policy initiatives without the support of Congress and the American public.[281] This was in contrast to the State Department and the NSC staff who, as activists within the Reagan Administration, advocated a more confrontational approach and were adamant that diplomacy should be supported by military force where necessary. The difference in opinion between these principle cabinet members, however, failed to generate or consolidate public support. On the contrary, this polarisation reflected a divided government which not only had domestic repercussions, but demonstrated the

---

[279] For an overview of the importance of considering the objectives of an ally during crises, see Michael Ledeen,"The Lessons of Lebanon," Commentary, No.77, May 1984, pp.15-22 and Ze'ev Schiff, "The Green Light," Foreign Policy, No.50, Spring 1983, pp.73-85

[280] See Ze'ev Schiff, "Lebanon:Motives and Interests in Israel's Policy," Middle East Journal, Vol.38, Spring 1984, pp.220-227 and Ze'ev Schiff, "Dealing With Syria," Foreign Policy, No.55, Summer 1984, pp.99-112 and for a discussion of the role of Menachem Begin and General Ariel Sharon in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the controversy over Israel's role in the Sabra and Shatila massacres, see Ze'ev Schiff, "Who Decided Who Informed," New Outlook, No.25, 1982, pp.19-22. Also R.T. Naylor, "From Bloodbath to Whitewash: Sabra - Shatila and the Kahan Commission Report," Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol.5, Fall 1983, pp.337-361

[281] See George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, pp.77-78 and Caspar Weinberger (1991), op.cit:, pp.8-9, 31 & 34. See also Dan Tschirgi, (1989), op.cit:, pp.56-57.

administration's lack of resolve in addressing the Lebanese crisis as a whole.[282] At a loss for resolving the Lebanese crisis, the administration tried to regain its credibility by shifting attention from Lebanon to Libya.

Frustrated by its inability to retaliate against Syria, Iran and Hiz'ballah, the administration focused on Libya, which they believed was an easier target for retaliation. The principal reason for the administration's focus on Qadaffi, as opposed to other state sponsors of terrorism such as Syria and Iran, was mostly attributed to Qaddafi's erratic and belligerent behaviour. For example, the day after the bomb attacks on the French and U.S. barracks in Beirut, he was quoted as having said, "...the attacks were the courageous actions undertaken by nationalistic forces in Lebanon."[283] Unlike Qaddafi, Syrian state controlled radio and television stations only reported the incidents and refrained from making any emotive comments.[284] Qaddafi's behaviour made him an easier target than Syria and Iran and paved the way for domestic and international support of American punitive measures against him.[285] The administration and the CIA initiated a campaign against Libyan leader, Muhammar Qaddafi, and portrayed him as *the* patron of international terrorism in the region. The Reagan government launched an intensive campaign using the intelligence community to implement a covert operation that was aimed at destabilising Qaddafi and used the U.S. Navy to taunt him in the Gulf of Sidra.[286] This detracted attention as well as intelligence resources from the more crucial issue of Lebanon and

---

[282] See Leslie H Gelb, "Reagan, Power and The World," New York Times Magazine, November 13, 1983, p.77

[283] See the front page article by Robert Fisk, The Times, October 24, 1983

[284] Ibid.

[285] Vincent Cannistraro, **interview**, on July 21, 1995, McLean Virginia

[286] This observation was made by Vincemt Cannistraro, a former NIO for counterterrorism and NSC staff official in the Reagan Administration in an **interview** with the author on July 21, 1995, at McLean Virginia.

the U.S. confrontation with Iranian revolutionaries such as Amal and Hizb'allah.[287] Apart from the fact that Libya was an easier target, the U.S. was at a disadvantage when it came to implementing retribution and punitive measures against Hizb'allah once that organisation embarked upon its strategy of taking American and Western citizens hostage.[288] Any attempts at retaliation which would have endangered the lives of the hostages would have undermined the administration's legitimacy.

Although the administration was concerned about maintaining its legitimacy in the eyes of the American public, its failure to do so can be attributed to the breakdown in communication between the NSC staff and the intelligence community which could have provided the administration with an objective overview of the environment's reaction to their policy initiatives. As the administration marginalised the intelligence community it inadvertently and effectively undermined its source for feedback from its external environment. Together with the media the intelligence community was an important output - input mechanism for generating and testing popular support of the government's Lebanon policies. Had the administration maintained closer ties with the intelligence community, it may have come to the realisation at a much earlier stage during the crisis that Syria and Israel had no intention of giving up their territorial positions within Lebanon as easily as America had assumed they would.[289] The close relationship between the President and the NSC staff, who came to share his views and sentiments, resulted in convergence of thought and the NSC staff were unable to perform with the necessary degree of objectivity.[290] Essentially the communication of vital information

---

[287] Vincent Cannistraro, **interview**, on July 21, 1995. See Martin & Walcott (1988), op.cit:, p.73, also Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, pp196-201, and Charles Cogan, "The Response of the Strong to the Weak: The American Raid on Libya, 1986, Intelligence and National Security, Vol.6, No.3 (1991), pp.608-620

[288] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.276-277.

[289] See George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, p.74

[290] See Oliver North (1991), op.cit:, p.153

and insight into the problem failed to reach the key administration officials. Where that information did reach them, they failed to respond to its significance.

3.5 The principle of communication

Just as important as communication is to the intelligence cycle, so too is it a vital component in the successful management of crisis situations. Communication is the common axle upon which both the intelligence cycle and crisis management rotate. In both instances communication not only provides the vehicle which facilitates the conveyance of intelligence and information to and between the decision makers, but it is also necessary to convey feedback on the impact and effect that response initiatives have upon the adversary and the public to the policy maker. Just as there must be a continuous review of intelligence, an isolated segment of information cannot categorically establish the likelihood of an event. Singular scans of the political environment are unlikely to provide any comprehensive insight into the intentions of an adversary. A consistent and continuous review of the environment should be maintained if patterns of thought and intentions are to be identified and interpreted in perspective.[291] In this instance the media plays an important and three-dimensional role. The first occurs when it functions as a source of overt intelligence information for the intelligence community. The second occurs when the media becomes direct competition for the intelligence community as a source of information for the policy maker. The third dimension is when the media's behaviour makes it part of the crisis problem instead of a participant in its solution.[292]

---

[291] See John Oseth, "Intelligence and Low Intensity Conflict," Naval War College Review, No.37, 1984, pp.19-36

For the intelligence community reliance upon the media as a source of overt collection has inherent pitfalls, as an investigation carried out by Glen Hastedt in 1992 demonstrates. The mentioned study examined the lessons that can be learnt following media reporting on the terrorist attack on the Marines in Lebanon. Hastedt concluded that the content of the JPRS reports revealed scant information of value that could have stimulated the intelligence community in its analysis. The JPRS reports are charged with providing the intelligence community with translations and reprints of material appearing in foreign newspapers, periodicals, books, news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Not only were the reports devoid of detailed attention to the root causes of terrorism in Lebanon and the objectives of the organisations involved, but they appeared to be based upon no more than four or five of the same sources on a repetitive basis.[293] His observations suggest that the intelligence community failed to ask alternative questions pertaining to the terrorist organisations' objectives and strategies because of the absence of sufficient stimuli contained in the media's reports. This is not surprising as the media will focus its attention and slant its reporting upon the more sensational aspects of an incident in order to maintain the newsworthy content of the event covered.[294] News editors do not task their reporters according to the same criteria as intelligence managers task their intelligence collectors. While Hastedt's argument may hold for the content of foreign media reports, the impact of the U.S. media should have been of greater significance as it reflected American domestic concern. An analysis of U.S. media reports pertaining to these two incidents, reveals that

---

[292] This aspect of the media is explored more fully in the case study on the hijacking of Flight TWA 847 in Chapter 5

[293] See Glen Hastedt, (1992), op.cit:, p.25. A rough division of labour exists between it and the Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), where FBIS concentrates on the immediate translation and compilation of foreign radio broadcasts.

[294] See Julian J Landau, (ed.), The Media: Freedom Or Responsibility. The War in Lebanon, 1982, A Case Study. (Jerusalem, Ahva Press, 1984).

they focused their attention on the devastation caused, the trauma of the victims and their families, potential options for American retaliation, and the failure of intelligence to provide warning of the attacks. The usual speculation in the media over why the attacks were carried out prevailed. Despite allegations of Syrian and Iranian complicity, this question was never answered by anyone in authority.[295]

During crises the failure to manage communication effectively can have adverse consequences. In the wake of the attack on the Marine barracks, the Reagan Administration initially responded by attempting to deflect criticism by explaining the rationale behind their continued presence in Lebanon. George Schultz argued that, "...it would be a fatal mistake to withdraw...", as any such move would only serve to encourage other radical groups to adopt similar strategies and to rely upon the Soviet Union for assistance while undermining America's credibility in protecting its allies. In a rare display of solidarity with the Secretary of State, Caspar Weinberger reiterated that, "...a pull out of U.S. forces at that time would result in Lebanon becoming a Soviet dominated enclave." President Reagan stated further that, "...the entire stability of the Middle East would be threatened by a U.S. withdrawal."[296] However, in spite of the administration's efforts to contain the damage that the bombing of the Marine barracks had inflicted upon its Lebanon objectives domestic pressure for the withdrawal of American forces, together with the reluctance of the military establishment to sustain its half-hearted support, increased and compelled them to leave.[297] Finally on February 7, 1984,

---

[295] See the statement made by George Schultz, The Situation in Lebanon, October 24, 1983, (Washington D.C., United States Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs, Current Policy No.520, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1983), p.2 See also Jim McGee, "U.S. knew of Syria link to '83 embassy blast," Miami Herald, August 3, 1986, p.A1

[296] See the front page article by Robert Fisk, The Times, October 24, 1983, and "Agonizing Decisions" U.S. News & World Report, November 7, 1983, pp.24-25, and "Lebanon: High Risk in Staying On - or Getting Out," U.S. News & World Report, November 7, 1983, pp.26-27

[297] For the political effects of the bombing of the Marine barracks, see Larry Fabian, "The Middle East War: Dangers and Receding Peace Prospects," Foreign Affairs, Vol.62,

President Reagan announced the withdrawal of the remaining 1,600 Marines from Lebanon.

In managing communications during crises and under normal circumstances, it is not an uncommon practice for policy makers in the USA to insist upon establishing direct links with intelligence operations personnel stationed at US embassies abroad rather than to receive intelligence briefings via the formal analytical branches and channels.[298] Policy makers cannot be forced to read or act on intelligence under circumstances where policy making is subject to deadlines or is crisis driven. They will always be more interested in intelligence information that helps them to deal with the problem on hand and not with a problem that may develop in the future.

During crises, decision makers tend to pursue direct links with the intelligence community through the National Intelligence Officers (NIO) rather than with the formal bureaucracy.[299] This in itself can create problems: since NIOs are usually experts in their respective fields, they do not always have the conceptual tools for linking their domain with the extraneous factors present in a crisis situation.[300] NIOs intrinsically lack insight into the 'big picture' in the wider perspective of policy making. They are not always alert in identifying inaccurate or deliberately false or misleading information.[301] With less time available for careful evaluation and verification of intelligence

---

No.3, 1984, pp.632-658 and "The American Presence," Illustrated London News, No.271, December 1983, p.11 and William E Smith and Robert Suro, "Lebanon Takes its Toll," Time, September 12, 1983, pp.14-17

[298] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.472

[299] Admiral Stansfield Turner, former DCI of the CIA under President Carter, **interview**, on July 23, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia. And Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 13, 1995 and Vincent Cannistraro, **interview**, on July 21, 1995, McLean Virginia.

[300] See John A Gentry (1993), op.cit:, p.303. According to Gentry, a former CIA analyst and senior National Intelligence Officer, NIOs have substantive regional or functional responsibilities, supervise the preparation of intelligence estimates, and perform liaison and coordination functions. Some NIOs have no significant intelligence backgrounds.

[301] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 13, 1995. Graham Fuller was the NIO who was initially responsible for the Reagan Administration's approach in fostering links with moderate elements within the Iranian government in an attempt to secure the release of the US hostages.

information, deception by an adversary is always a possibility during analysis and an additional critical factor during any crisis situation. However, in specific crises, where diplomacy or negotiation takes place between the parties involved, the need to utilise confidence building measures in order to demonstrate sincerity can contribute towards reducing this danger. It was ultimately upon the advice of Michael Ledeen, a consultant to the NSC staff and NIO Graham Fuller, that the Reagan Administration became involved with the Iranian government in an attempt to secure the release of its hostages.[302] Ledeen and Fuller believed that through the influence of moderate Iranians, Hizb'allah could be persuaded to release the American hostages in Beirut.[303] This proved to be disastrous, however, and ultimately led to the Iran-Contra affair. Shortages in information, and when combined with the acute need for an immediate response, can detract from the principle that policy makers should wait until they have all the facts at their disposal before making decisions and implementing them. Betts points out that, "Consumers want previously co-ordinated analysis in order to save time and effort. In this respect the practical imperatives of day to day decision making contradicts the theoretical logic of ideal intelligence."[304] In crises temporal limitations imposed upon decision makers encourages short-cuts in acquiring and processing intelligence. The availability of real-time and almost instantaneous information, which can be provided by the media, presents policy makers with an alternative to intelligence which takes too long to process.[305] The one prominent danger in relying upon the media for

---

[302] See Oliver North, (1991), op.cit:, p.22. and Nikki Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, Neither East Nor West: Iran, The Soviet Union and the United States, (London, Yale University Press, 1990), p.175

[303] See Amir Taheri, Nest of Spies: America's Journey to Disaster in Iran, (London, Hutchinson, 1988), p.230, and Ben Bradlee, Jr, Guts & Glory: The Rise and Fall of Oliver North, (London, Grafton Books, 1988), pp.301-309 and Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.202

[304] See Richard Betts, "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures Are Inevitable," World Politics, 31 (October 1978), p.70

[305] For more information into the problems of information overload and cognitive

information during crises, is the possibility of disinformation and biased reporting. Not all journalists maintain integrity and objectivity in their reporting. A few months after the Lebanon crisis, studies that were conducted into media behaviour revealed that in many instances, they were guilty of bias and even disinformation.

The results of a survey conducted on the American media revealed that on the whole, the New York Times was the most objective and unbiased. Newsweek magazine, however, was prone to statistical inaccuracies. CBS was found to be partial towards Israel and NBC was the least objective with constant anti-Israeli sentiments. ABC maintained the most balanced perspective. On the whole, the media performed below its professional standard during the crisis.[306] Politicisation dogged the media just as it did the administration and the intelligence community. In Germany, the media attempted to portray the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and its expulsion of the PLO in the same light as Hitler's final solution. Reports in *Die Zeit* and *Stern* magazine equated Israel's actions with Nazism.[307] This was an indirect attack against the legitimacy of the U.S. in the eyes of its allies in Europe. The U.S. was judged to be guilty by association with Israel.

Television media depicted the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the worst possible light by showing footage of Israeli forces moving through the cities of Tyre, Sidon and Damour with untold damage to houses and civilians in the background. What they omitted to report, however, was the fact that the PLO developed a deliberate strategy of locating their strongholds in or near civilian centres, thereby rendering civilian casualties inevitable. Much of the damage to these

---

shortcut functions, see Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.428-431

[306] See Joshua Muravchik, "Misreporting Lebanon," Policy Review, No.23, Winter 1983, pp.11-66 and Nick Thimmesch, "The Media and the Middle East," American-Arab Affairs, No.2, Fall 1982, pp.79-88

[307] See Frank Offenbach, "A Footnote to Bias," Encounter (London), No.60, April 1983, pp.87-89

cities had been incurred by the PLO before the invasion.[308] In defence of the media, it must be pointed out that in some instances, reporting in Lebanon was partly influenced by propaganda, intimidation and threats issued against Western journalists by the PLO[309] and various Lebanese militias.[310]

During crises, as cables, faxes, and reports increase, the problem of information overload intensifies. In the process origins of thought, decisions and lines of instruction also become obfuscated. The result is that it also becomes more difficult to distinguish between intelligence and policy failures, since analysis (intelligence) and policy (decision making) are interactive. This was certainly the case during the Reagan Administration. A fusion of activities occurred within the NSC staff where NSC staff officers were responsible for analysis, formulating policy options and implementing policy decisions.[311] The lines between these distinct yet interrelated functions became blurred to the point that staff officers were entangled in making lower-level policy decisions as they implemented policy decisions taken by the NSC members and the

---

[308] See Frank Gervasi, "The War in Lebanon," in Julian J Landau (ed.), The Media: Freedom Or Responsibility.The War in Lebanon, 1982 A Case Study, (Jerusalem, Ahva Press, 1984), p.43. See also James Lewin, "Bad Press Largely Due to Media Bias," Newsview, November 30, 1982 and Walter Laqueur, "Foreign News Coverage :From Bad To Worse," Washington Journalism Review, June 1983.

[309] According to a report in the New York Times, July 1982, the publication stated that, "...It is clear to anyone who has travelled in southern Lebanon, as have many journalists and relief workers, that the original figures of 10,000 dead and 600,000 homeless, reported by correspondents quoting Beirut representatives of the international committee of the Red Cross, were extreme exaggerations..." See "PLO Propaganda War: Phony Casualty Figures," New York Post, July 15, 1982. See also Alfred Mady, "The Post's Lebanon Coverage: True of False?," Washington Post, July 26, 1982 and George F Will, "Mideast Truth and Falsehood," Newsweek Magazine, August 2, 1982 and Emmet R Tyrrell Jr., "How Cameras Lied For the PLO," Washington Post, August 30, 1982 and Melvin J Lasky's analysis of the Times (London) reporting, in "Embattled Positions," Encounter, September-October 1982

[310] See Kenneth Timmerman, "How the PLO Terrorised Journalists in Beirut," Commentary, No.75, January 1983, pp.48-50 and Ze'ev Chafets, "Beirut and the Great Media Cover-Up," Commentary, No.78, September 1984, pp.20-29 and Rita J Simon, "The Print Media's Coverage of War in Lebanon," Middle East Review, No.16, Fall 1983, pp.15-16 and Frank Gervasi "The War in Lebanon: Intimidating the Press," Julian J Landau (ed.) op.cit:, p.52-55

[311] Geoffrey Kemp, former NSC staff member, **interview**, on July 19, 1995 and Howard Teicher, **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C

president. Gradually, as ambiguity increased, the threshold of these lower-level decisions increased until the NSC staff was functioning as an activist body in the decision making process.[312]

From a normative perspective, however, and from the point of view of this thesis, the decision maker bears the final responsibility for crisis response and the consequences of the decisions made. Whereas Caspar Weinberger deflected the blame for placing the Marines in an untenable situation, President Reagan acknowledged this principle and accepted full responsibility for the Marine's predicament.[313] Following the bombing of the Marine barracks, statements were made to the press by senior administration officials. These statements included accusations of possible Soviet complicity made by Caspar Weinberger. They highlighted the prevailing belief within certain quarters of the administration that the Soviet Union was behind international terrorism and was somehow also responsible for the conflict between the U.S. and its adversaries in Lebanon.[314] This increased the administration's bias as decisions were increasingly based upon ideological inputs instead of intelligence reports that reflected the reality.[315] While communication during crises is essential towards seeking and maintaining legitimacy for response initiatives, due consideration must be given towards issuing statements of intent which inadvertently paint one into a corner and limit response options for the future. Creating precedents for oneself can be counterproductive and ultimately limits room for manoeuvre. The

---

[312] Ibid.

[313] See Weinberger's reaction and statement in response to the Long Commission Report in Caspar Weinberger, (1990), op.cit:, pp.164-168 and George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.231-234

[314] See the statement made by George Schultz, The Situation in Lebanon, October 24, 1983, (Washington, D,C., United States Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs, Current Policy No.520, U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1983), p.2. See the front page article by Robert Fisk in the Times, October 24, 1983 and William E Smith and Strobe Talbot, "Carnage in Lebanon," Time, October 31, 1983, p.14

[315] See the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983, Part Four: Intelligence, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1984), pp.57-62

Reagan Administration stumbled across this line at the beginning of its first term, when President Reagan promised "...swift and effective retribution...", and vowed that the U.S. would never negotiate with terrorists.

3.6 The principle of preventing precedents

The last principle of crisis management is to avoid creating future precedents. Extraordinary circumstances created by crises and the corresponding demands placed upon the authorities to respond, must not be allowed to infringe upon existing agreements. In addition to ensuring that response actions comply with domestic and international law, the response strategies adopted must take cognisance of existing treaties and agreements between any parties that may be involved or affected.[316] By making hard and fast rules, an agenda is created for an adversary to exploit by engineering a situation where the only solution necessitates the infringement of those rules. An example of this was the Reagan Administration's principle that it would not negotiate with terrorists.[317] For most democratic governments, responding to terrorism through negotiation, is unavoidable and inevitable. The alternative is the implementation of para-military instruments and techniques of coercion, which is not always a desirable option for state actors who cannot afford to sustain unacceptable levels of collateral civilian damage and incur criticism for contravening human rights. For democratic states the principles of democracy create precedents which already hold the state hostage and limit its options for dealing with terrorism. The notion exists that in guaranteeing the protection of

[316] See Hanspeter Neuhold, "Principles and Implementation of Crisis Management: Lessons From the Past," in Daniel Frei (ed.), (1978), op.cit:, pp.13-14

[317] See William Beck, U.S. Foreign policy in Lebanon Under the Reagan Administration 1981-1989, (M.A. Thesis, George Washington University,1989), pp.61-63

their citizens, democratic governments are obligated to practice democracy while protecting it. Wilkinson explains that, "One obvious but extremely important factor is the inherent civil rights and freedoms of liberal states which terrorist organisations can exploit. Freedom of movement both between and within liberal states, freedom of association, and freedom from totalitarian style police surveillance and control, are all rightly highly valued by citizens of Western liberal states. Yet they can be all too easily taken advantage of by terrorists."[318] The establishment of an effective response strategy using intelligence assets poses difficult issues for democratic states.[319] Demands for justification of actions undertaken by the authorities can place intelligence sources at risk and jeopardise ongoing and future operations.

Concern of incurring unacceptable risks to innocent bystanders is what prevented the U.S. government from exacting "swift and effective retribution" against Hizb'allah in the Bekaa Valley following its attack on the U.S. embassy and the Marine barracks in 1983.[320] This statement, together with Reagan's pledge that the U.S. would not give in to terrorists, forced the administration to search for an alternative technique to manage the hostage crisis which evolved later. Their alternative strategy was to make use of an intermediary which was Iran, who they perceived to have an influence over the leader of the terrorist group that was holding the hostages.[321] The administration believed that by using Iran as an intermediary that it could negotiate an acceptable solution to the hostage crisis without compromising on its publicised principles of not negotiating directly with terrorists.[322]

---

[318] See Paul Wilkinson, Terrorism and the Liberal State, (London, MacMillan Press, 1977), pp.102-103

[319] See Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, pp.171-173 and Walter Laqueur, (1985), op.cit:, pp.201-203.

[320] See Caspar Weinberger, (1990), op.cit:, p.188

[321] See Oliver North, (1991), op.cit:, pp.277-278

The irony of the administration's stated policy towards terrorism, however, was in the fact that among U.S. security agencies, negotiation is standard policy. It is standard operational practice for law enforcement agencies, such as local police Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) teams and the FBI to establish direct lines of communications with the parties and to negotiate for the release of any hostages in either barricade or hostage situations.[323] This doctrine is regularly taught in unclassified courses which is provided nation-wide by the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), in conjunction with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), as well as representatives from the FBI, the Department of State, Justice Department, the Treasury, Army, Navy, Coast Guard, Defence and Intelligence Community.[324] To the contrary, most countries that claim not to deal with terrorists, however, do. Israel has negotiated with Palestinians, Britain with the IRA and Spain with ETA. Virtually the entire U.S. foreign policy network and the intelligence community were aware of the policy.

The problem arose, however, when President Reagan specifically announced that the U.S. would not negotiate. Had the administration been more "in-touch" with the intelligence community from the outset, this blunder may have been averted. One of the principle reasons for this 'short-circuit', is the tendency on the part of most new presidential administrations to announce policy changes merely for the sake of demonstrating change and a departure from the practices of the previous government. Change is implemented for its own sake and not necessarily for any perceived benefit or advantage. President Reagan's statement was made before the new administration had taken time to consult, reflect and formulate its

---

[322] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.192 and Jeffrey Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.175

[323] Robert Grace, Special Agent In-Charge, FBI Crisis Management Centre, Quantico Bay, Maryland, **interview**, on July 13, 1995

[324] William Beck, (1989), op.cit:, p.623.

stance on this issue.[325] The reality was that the U.S. maintained a dual policy with regard to terrorism and the hostage crisis. While publicly announcing that it would not compromise on its principles, the administration was conducting secret negotiations with a third party, Manucher Gorbanifar an Iranian-born intermediary who claimed to have influence with moderate elements among the Iranian government. Iran was the state sponsor of the terrorist group that was holding the U.S. to ransom. The Reagan Administration also paid millions of dollars in ransom money to secure the release of some of the hostages.[326]

While it must be acknowledged that dealing with terrorists on an international platform is different from confronting terrorists in one's own country, the limitations that the authorities face as a result of international law, geographical boundaries and territorial sovereignty are further reasons for governments to face up to the reality of their limitations and the restraints in applying instruments and techniques of coercion.[327] In most cases, negotiation is the only viable option available and governments should refrain from making public statements to the effect that they will never negotiate as this is untrue and impractical. The Beirut crisis demonstrated that statements of intent and principle should be limited and drafted in a manner that does not limit options for crisis resolution by any conceivable means.

---

[325] This observation was made by Noel Koch, in a **telephone interview** on February 21, 1996

[326] See Oliver North, (1991), op.cit:, pp.277-280

[327] The United States discovered this when their attempts to arrest the hijackers of the Achille Lauro at Italy's Sigonella airbase, were frustrated by the Italian government.

3.7 Conclusion

Tasking failures result in intelligence failures when policy makers and intelligence managers neglect to identify relevant requirements for collection. Impediments to effective crisis intelligence arise from poor communication between the decision maker and the intelligence analysts.[328] This was certainly the case between the administration and the intelligence community with regards to their objectives and initiatives in Lebanon. A sense of overriding superiority and invincibility of the U.S. and its superpower status on the part of the administration and in particular key individuals, such as Philip Habib, George Schultz and Robert McFarlane, created a cognitive barrier which prevented threat analysis. The administration failed to recognise the importance of terrorism as a primary threat to their objectives and the safety of their forces, despite numerous warnings to the contrary. Following the first embassy attack, there was no sense of urgency in increasing security precautions at the Marine barracks.[329] The tendency to downplay terrorism was influenced by the overall fear of an expanding threat to their policy objectives in Lebanon and elsewhere in the Middle East, such as the Persian Gulf and the Iran-Iraqi war. In Beirut, immediate problems such as securing the base at the airport, which was inundated with large quantities of unexploded ordnance, a series of clashes with Israeli forces and Druze artillery and sniper fire directed at the Marines, all detracted from the phenomenon of terrorism.[330] With regard to the

---

[328] See Stan Taylor and Theodore Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander George, (ed.), (1991), op.cit;, pp.397-399

[329] See Stephen Engelberg, "A Warning Preceded Beirut Barracks Attack," New York Times, September 24, 1986. Engelberg reports an assertion by Noel Koch that he informed Caspar Weinberger nine months before the BLT bombing that international terrorists had moved away from kidnapping and that they had switched tactics to assassinations and large car bombs. Caspar Weinberger tasked Koch with the responsibility for drawing up a plan of action and to report back. He alleges that after nine months of failed attempts to obtain an appointment to brief the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the BLT was attacked - one month before the scheduled briefing date.

[330] See "The U.S. Marine Tragedy: Causes and Responsibility," New York Times, December 11, 1983

wider issues, the administration failed to ask the right questions. They failed to direct the intelligence community to provide intelligence on the nature of the political and social environment within which the administration intended to implement its policy initiatives.

The intelligence community failed to support the administration in other areas of the intelligence cycle as well. Collection failures occur when the community fails to collect relevant and specific information. In Beirut none of the intelligence reports received by the Marines contained any specific information pertaining to the time or date of a predicted attack. Most could not be verified. The problem was not the quantity of intelligence available, but the quality, given the shortcoming in necessary details.[331] The only report that came close to warning about the attack was a report in the National Intelligence Digest on October 20, 1983, to the effect that U.S. forces (Marines) might soon be the target of a major terrorist attack.[332] Although this report was accurate from a temporal point of view it failed to provide any further specifics.

Guidance in selecting collection targets can be initiated through sources within the intelligence community, or by external stimuli through requirements levied by the policy maker. Often consumer ignorance pertaining to the capabilities of the intelligence services can produce unrealistic expectations. The expectation that specific details of a terrorist attack can be provided reflects a fundamental lack of appreciation of what intelligence organisations are able to achieve under difficult circumstances. Intelligence gathering on the intentions of terrorist organisations is a daunting task, given the

---

[331] According to the testimony of General Paul X Kelley, the Marines received at least 100 intelligence reports of car bombs between June 1 and October 23, 1983. Between September 15 and October 23, one intelligence section provided over 170 pieces of incomplete information. None of this was useful and had the reverse of effect of desensitising the Marines to the potential danger. See Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983, December 20, 1983

[332] See the New York Times, December 11, 1983

operational constraints that are generated by secrecy, paranoia and fanaticism, as well as the usually small number of individuals who are involved. The collection of specific details pertaining to terrorists' intentions in most cases remains almost impossible.

Despite the frustration experienced by the intelligence community at not being requested by the consumers to produce a comprehensive estimate on Lebanon, the analysts in turn, did not make any great effort to stimulate a request for an estimate from somewhere within the administration. Neither did they volunteer to produce one on their own accord.[333] Their lack of initiative can be attributed to the traditionalist approach and the injunction against analysts offering policy advice which created a mind-set that the analysts would not speak unless spoken to. The intelligence community operated according to the norm that it was there to provide a service as prescribed by its policy masters and therefore focused its attention solely upon those areas selected by its master. The adherence to the traditionalist discipline in this instance undermined lateral thinking and adaptation to the dynamics of the socio-political climate in Lebanon.

Both the Committee on Armed Forces of the House of Representatives and the DOD Long Commission reports found that the upper levels of the chain of command failed to exercise effective oversight of the Marine's operation and to recognise the magnitude of the terrorist threat. They also concluded that they failed to adjust their instructions to the Marines and the intelligence community in accordance with the dynamics of the situation.[334]

---

[333] David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:. p.11

[334] See Adequacy of U.S. Marines Corps Security in Beirut, Committee on Armed Services, House of Representatives, December 19, 1983, p.26 - which came to the conclusion that security measures taken to protect the Marine Unit from threats and intelligence support were inadequate. See also the Report of the DOD Commission on Beirut International Airport Terrorist Act, October 23, 1983, December 20, 1983.

An analysis and distribution failure becomes an intelligence failure when the system fails to evaluate and interpret the information properly and to disseminate it to the appropriate consumers for translation into action. The evidence suggests that in addition to the absence of detailed information, there was a also an inadequate capacity to process the volume of warning intelligence that was being fed into the system. The production review process and the convoluted chain of command delayed the timely distribution of intelligence information. In fact, the DOD report not only criticised the FBI for failing to insert its analysis into the DIA, CIA and State Department communication channels, but the processing time required for intelligence reports to be distributed between the naval task force lying off shore and the Marine barracks, took an average of thirty to forty hours.[335] The absence of trained analysts, who were experts in terrorism, contributed towards the processing failure. Had the producer - consumer relationship functioned in accordance with the activist approach, however, history may have been different. In the instance of the Marine barracks bombing the intelligence failure was overshadowed by the inability of the key individuals within the administration and the marine commanders to interpret and translate the warnings into action. Access to analytical experts on terrorism may have enabled the Marine commanders to learn what they could expect from terrorism, making them more receptive to the analysis, thereby enabling them to react to the information. Not being experts in terrorism and lacking analysts who were, the Marines failed to interpret and appreciate the implications of the warnings that they had received.

Given the fundamental flaw in the administration's management style, there is no guarantee that the intelligence community could have made a difference. Essentially two different policy failures took place with regard to the Marines' mission in Lebanon. One was the failure to act on warnings received. This failure is evident given the

[335] Ibid.

events and intelligence warnings between the first embassy bombing and the attack on the BLT. The second was rooted in the failure of the administration to re-evaluate the Marines' mission once they had recognised the fact that their environment had changed to such an extent that the mission they had set for the Marines was no longer viable given the environmental dynamics. The Marines were given a political mission which became incompatible with maintaining a non-combatant presence. Despite the objection of the Marine commanders in Beirut, who expressed their misgivings over the wisdom of using naval power to shell the Muslim Druze positions, the administration failed to grasp the potential consequences of that action for the safety of the Marines.

This was not the only level where a dysfunction in the chain of command was evident. Within the White House, despite the existence of a general agreement which prevailed between the various members of the intelligence and security services who served on the National Security Council staff, consensus between senior level staff, i.e. between the principal cabinet members, was notably absent. Conflicting opinions prevailed between the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence. This extended to relations between the Secretary of State and the DCI and between the Secretary of Defence and the NSC staff. Cabinet dissention diluted the defence community's appraisal of their environment in Lebanon. This was reflected in the rules of engagement (ROE) under which the Marines operated. Caspar Weinberger made matters worse by refusing to acknowledge that the Marines were deployed in a hostile environment which necessitated them operating under a different set of rules. Being averse to committing American troops to hostile areas without Congressional and public support and the restrictions imposed upon the him by the War Powers Act, Weinberger made it almost impossible for them to act in self defence except in the most dire circumstances. These restraints did not pass unnoticed by their

adversaries. While the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 precipitated a crisis for the Reagan Administration, the intelligence community failed to apply opportunity analysis through lateral strategic thinking which could have taken advantage of the situation.[336] Lebanon provided the administration with the opportunity to achieve strategic goals vis a vis the Soviet Union and the Arab-Israeli peace process. The U.S. could have exploited the situation to stimulate the peace process, enhance the security of its allies while curtailing the influence of the Soviet Union. The administration failed in this endeavour as a result of the role played by individuals and the processes that constrained their interaction. Competition for dominance between key cabinet members and their institutions, specifically the White House staff, the State Department, Defence and the CIA, under the indecisive and almost indifferent management style of President Reagan towards Lebanon, undermined initiative. Two schools of thought prevailed within the administration. The first, which was dominated by globalists such as Alexander Haig, Schultz, William Casey, Geoffrey Kemp and Howard Teicher, viewed the crisis in terms of the East-West conflict. The second school of thought, the regionalists, comprised individuals such as Philip Habib, Morris Draper and Nicolas Veliotes, who preferred to analyse the situation in terms of the dynamics and interplay of the political, security, economic and social factors between the region's actors.[337]

These competing schools of thought together with traditionalist values, which governed the process in the relationship between the intelligence community and the policy makers, inhibited opportunity

[336] For an overview of the concept of Opportunity Analysis, see Jack Davis, "The Challenge of Opportunity Analysis," *An Intelligence Monograph,* (Washington D.C., CIA Centre for the Study of Intelligence, CSI 92-003U, July 1992) and Roy Godson, Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s, (Lexington MA, Lexington Books and the National Strategy Information Centre, 1989) pp.6 - 7. See also Roy Godson, Ernest May and Gary Schmitt (eds.), U.S. Intelligence at the Crossroads: Agendas for Reform, (London, Brasseys, 1995), see the chapter on analysis.

[337] For an explanation of the individual alliances within the Reagan Administration and their approach to the crisis, see Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.3 -7

analysis. The prevalence of multiple ambitions and voices within the administration detracted from consensus over the objectives and the methods utilised to secure them from being reached. On the one hand, the regionalists sought to exploit the situation sans force and in line with the principle of limiting the means employed to achieve the objectives. On the other hand, globalists recognised the advantages in employing a combination of U.S. diplomacy and Israeli military force against Syria and the PLO. This divergence in views polarised opinions and resulted in the absence of consensus and raised doubts over exactly what American policy towards Lebanon should be.[338]

Overconfidence in U.S. abilities to influence and intimidate its adversaries detracted Alexander Haig, Philip Habib, George Schultz and William Casey from limiting their objectives during the crisis. This same belief in American invincibility contributed towards their inability to apply more appropriate instruments and techniques against their adversaries and Hizb'allah. While Vice President George Bush, Caspar Weinberger and the JCS cautioned restraint and insisted upon the limited use of military force against Hizb'allah, they acted out of institutional interest and did not necessarily realise, or consider, the consequences that their reluctance and opinion would have upon their adversaries perceptions of American resolve and determination in Lebanon. A dilemma arose between the principles of legitimacy and setting a precedent, one which encouraged Syria, Iran and Hizb'allah to escalate the pressure on the U.S. through increasing terrorism.

Finally, the interaction between intelligence and crisis management malfunctioned as a direct result of the traditionalist doctrine of the producer - consumer relationship and the absence of communication between policy makers, such as the NSC staff and the State Department, and between the White House administration and the intelligence community in general. Following the withdrawal of the Marines from Beirut in 1984, the administration and

[338] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

intelligence community continued to suffer setbacks which undermined their crisis response and intelligence capabilities even further, as the following two case studies, which examine the kidnapping of the CIA Chief of Station in Beirut, William Buckley and the second bombing of the U.S. embassy will demonstrate.

Chapter 4

THE KIDNAPPING OF WILLIAM BUCKLEY ON MARCH 16, 1984 AND THE EMBASSY BOMBING ON SEPTEMBER 20, 1984.

> As President Reagan approached his second term in office, his counterterrorism program was proving to be all threat and no action, so he turned to the CIA and covert action. Covert action would give the activists - Schultz, Casey and McFarlane - a means of by-passing Weinberger and the bureaucrats in both the State Department and the CIA who had been resisting a broad interpretation of the pro-active policy.[1]

4.1 Introduction

This case study is a continuation of the analysis of the Reagan Administration's response to the phenomenon of terrorism in Beirut. It focuses upon the impact and the consequences of the kidnapping of the CIA Chief of Station, William Buckley, and the reasons behind the failure to prevent the second embassy bombing - the third major terrorist car-bomb attack against the U.S. in Lebanon over a period of seventeen months. The effects that the continued erosion of intelligence capabilities had upon the administration's response to the crisis and the producer - consumer relationship are examined. The study examines how the U.S. struggled against this decline and the manner in which intelligence analysis reflected information in support of preconceived ideas instead of policy objectives based upon the reality of the opportunities and constraints reflected by intelligence. Against the backdrop of the Lebanese civil war, the escalation of terrorism as a method of waging war against the United

[1] Stansfield Turner, "The Fadlallah Folly," in S Turner (1991), op.cit:, p.182. See also Christopher Simpson, "NSDD 138. Pre-emptive Strikes Against Suspected Terrorists," in National Security Directives of the Reagan & Bush Administrations, (Oxford, Westview Press, 1995), p.365. Simpson states that, "Prior to the kidnapping of William Buckley, George Schultz had been the most influential voice within the administration favouring dramatic Israeli-style clandestine war against Islamic guerrillas. But he often had been opposed by Caspar Weinberger and by most of the career staff of the CIA, who favoured more cautious tactics. The Buckley kidnapping put Casey decisively in Schultz's camp."

States, and the U.S. hostages in Beirut, the study reveals how the NSC staff's initiative towards Iran was based on unverified information and faulty assumptions which went unchecked by the intelligence community. The kidnapping of William Buckley and the bomb attack against the American embassy exposed the inability of the administration to utilise its intelligence effectively. They demonstrate that the communication between the intelligence community, the policy makers, the Marine and embassy security personnel either malfunctioned, or that the intelligence was simply ignored. The incidents revealed a lack of appreciation by the administration of the determination and objectives of their adversary, notably Hizb'allah, who they clearly underestimated.

On March 16, 1984 William Buckley, the CIA Chief of Station, was kidnapped in Beirut by members of the Islamic Jihad Organization.[2] Buckley was the third American citizen to be kidnapped, after Frank Reiger's abduction on February 10, 1984 and CNN correspondent, Jeremy Levin's kidnapping on March 7, 1984.[3] Buckley's case was of greater significance than Reiger and Levin, as he was a CIA officer and his disappearance created a crushing blow to U.S. intelligence in Lebanon. Following the deaths of Robert Ames and the former Chief of Station in Beirut, Kenneth Haas, in the first embassy bombing, Buckley's kidnapping meant the loss of the second CIA Chief in Beirut in thirteen months. This event had a paralysing effect upon the Agency's activities in the Middle East.[4] As a precaution that Buckley had disclosed the identities of their agents and CIA operations to his

---

[2] For the account of Buckley's kidnapping, see -------, "Come See! Come See! They're Taking Mr.Buckley!," Special Report, the Los Angeles Times, December 28, 1986, p.A.1 Also Paul Eedle, "American Diplomat Kidnapped At Gunpoint," Reuters North European Service, March 16, 1984 and Newsweek, March 26, 1984

[3] See "American diplomatic kidnapped," Times, March 17, 1984, p.36 According to the report, Buckley was kidnapped by three males at 07h30 at gunpoint and driven away in a white Renault in the direction of South Lebanon.

[4] See M.C Johns, "The Reagan Administration and State Sponsored Terrorism," Conflict, Vol.8, No.4, 1988, p.251 and Stephen Engelberg and Bernard E Trainor, "Iran Broke CIA Spy Ring, U.S. Says," New York Times, August 8, 1989, p.A6. See also "CIA Network Wrecked in Middle East," Sunday Telegraph, October 22, 1989, p.13

kidnappers during torture, the Agency was forced to withdraw its agents and assets from Beirut. [5]

The event also occurred two months after the U.S. had officially placed Iran on its list of state sponsors of international terrorism in January 1984. This was partly motivated by the U.S. response to the bombing of the Marine BLT barracks. However, there were other strategic considerations, not least the fact that the administration was preparing the legal groundwork to prevent the sale of U.S. military equipment to Iran during its war with Iraq.[6] America's objective was motivated by its concern that Iraq would lose the war and that a triumphant Iran would export its Islamic revolution throughout the Arabian Peninsula and the Persian Gulf.[7] With the arms embargo (U.S. Operation Staunch) having had an effect upon Iran's military re-supply capabilities, that country was desperate to acquire U.S. replacement parts and weapons that had been lost in its war with Iraq.[8] It was this premise that led the NSC staff under the influence of the National Security Advisor, Robert McFarlane, the NSC consultant

---

[5] For an in-depth account of William Buckley's career and his fate in Lebanon, see Gordon Thomas, Journey into Madness, (London, Bantam Press, 1988) and John K. Cooley, Payback: America's Long War in the Middle East, (Brassey's (US) Inc., 1991). See also Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.112-117. According to the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies Database on Terrorism as cited in the Kuwaiti newspaper, Al-Qabas, Buckley had been secretly moved to Iran via Syria. The fact that he had been moved to Teheran resulted in the U.S. sending a warning to Iran through Switzerland that the U.S. would strike at Iran if American kidnap victims were endangered or put on trial. The same newspaper cites Syrian sources as having said that they were unaware of the fact that Buckley had been moved from Lebanon to Iran via the Iranian embassy in Damascus. Buckley was smuggled out of Syria aboard a private plane to Teheran with Moshen Rafiqdust, the Commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard who had been on a visit to Syria at the time. The Kuwaiti newspaper based its story on a political military bulletin published monthly in Lebanon, under the name of Al-Taqrir - see the Middle East News Agency March 28, 1985

[6] See Eric Hooglund, "The Policy of the Reagan Administration toward Iran," in Nikki R Keddie & Mark Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, pp.182-183 and Mark A Heller, "Soviet and American Attitudes Toward the Iran-Iraq War," in Steven Spiegel, Mark A Heller and Jacob Goldberg (eds.), The Soviet-American Competition in the Middle East, (University of California, Institute on Global Conflict and Co-operation, 1988), pp.269-283

[7] See Geoffrey Kemp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.22-23

[8] Operation Staunch was the code name given to the U.S. initiative to cut off Iran's access to purchase U.S. weapons. This operation also went much further and included U.S. intelligence assistance to Saddam Hussein and Iraq which helped him to repel Iranian infantry and armoured attacks. See Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, pp.120-121 and Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.222. See also Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.123 and Ben Bradlee Jnr, (1988), op.cit:, pp.308-393.

Michael Ledeen and Oliver North to believe that Iran would be amenable to U.S. overtures for help in the hostage crisis. Ironically, it was the success of Operation Staunch that paved the way for the Iran-Contra initiative.[9]

The rationale behind Operation Staunch was to exploit Iran's desperate need for weapons in its war against Iraq, especially anti-tank and anti-aircraft missiles, as the basis for an exchange of American hostages for arms to Iran.[10] The details of the plan entailed supplying Iran with the missiles and other components from Israeli stocks, which in turn would be replenished by the U.S. A diversion of some of the financial proceeds of the operation were then used to fund the American supported Contras in Nicaragua.[11] Not only was this part of this scheme illegal in the sense that Congress had barred the Contras from receiving U.S. aid, [12] but it also violated U.S. policy of not negotiating with terrorists.

The mastermind behind the kidnapping of William Buckley was one Immad al-Haj Mughniah. His motive was the release of the al Da'wa 17 prisoners, who were in prison after they had been convicted of blowing up the French and U.S. embassies in Kuwait. Mughniah was the brother in law of Mustafa Yusif Badr al-Din, one of the al Da'wa 17 prisoners.[13] He was also responsible for Hizb'allah's strategy of kidnapping western hostages in Lebanon and is said to have had close ties with Syrian and Iranian intelligence.[14] Although

---

[9] See Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.120

[10] See Amir Taheri, (1988), op.cit:, p.163

[11] See Jonathan Marshall, Peter Scott and Jane Hunter, The Iran-Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert actions in the Reagan Era, (Boston, South End Press, 1988), pp.110-114.

[12] See Oliver North and William Novak, (1991), op.cit:, and David Barrett, "Presidential Foreign Policy," in John Dumbrell, The Making of U.S. Foreign Policy, (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990), p.87

[13] See Augustus Richad Norton, "Lebanon: The Internal Conflict and the Iranian Connection," in John L Esposito, The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact, (Miami, Florida International University Press, 1990), p.129

[14] See Dilip Hiro, (1993), op.cit:, p.124 and Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.175. See also Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, p.281 and Augustus Richad Norton, (1990), op.cit:,

Iran was quite rightly considered as a player in the strategy of hostage taking against the West in Beirut, this monolithic conceptualisation by the U.S. was oversimplified.[15] It is doubtful, however, if anyone or any analyst within the intelligence community at that time appreciated the complexity and the dynamics of the influential relationships which prevailed within the leadership circles of Hizb'allah and between that organisation's leadership and Iran.[16]

Following the first embassy explosion that killed the Agency's officers, the CIA was in desperate need of qualified operations personnel to rebuild their intelligence network in Beirut.[17] Now with Buckley having been kidnapped, the whole network was at risk. William Buckley, who had been appointed by Casey, was the officer in charge of the CIA operation that had been training the security detail of Anwar Sadat when he was assassinated and was therefore no stranger to the Middle East.[18] He was despatched to Beirut without sufficient consideration of the potential dangers and consequences for his safety and that of the CIA's assets and capabilities. Buckley was certainly known to Iranian and Syrian intelligence, who may have been instrumental in selecting him as a target and passing the mission on to Mughniah and Hizb'allah.[19] His kidnapping compromised the agency's humint capabilities. Hizb'allah is reported

---

p.129

[15] For an overview of Hizb'allah and Iranian motivations behind the kidnappings see Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.135-146 and Marvin Zonis and Daniel Brumberg, "Behind Beirut Terrorism," New York Times, August 10, 1984

[16] This judgement is based on the evidence presented throughout this thesis and in the first seminal work that was completed on the origins and structure of Hizb'allah in Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit.

[17] This comment was made by Noel Koch, former Pentagon counter-terrorist officer, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on February 21, 1985. This was also confirmed by Stansfield Turner, in an **interview**, on July 22, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia

[18] Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.487.

[19] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.175 and substantiated by the comments of William Beck, former Naval intelligence communications officer in Beirut, **interview,** on August, 2, 1995

is reported to have gained access to the classified documents in the burn-bag that he was carrying at the time and from over four hundred pages of testimony extracted from him under duress while he was interrogated in captivity.[20] According to Noel Koch, a direct consequence of Buckley's kidnapping, was the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in June 1985. It is strongly believed that Buckley's disclosures in detention provided Hizb'allah with strategic information pertaining to U.S. counter-terrorist strategy and capabilities and that this information facilitated their planning of the TWA operation.[21] The Buckley incident reveals a fundamental lack of appreciation by the CIA of the nature and determination of their adversaries in Lebanon. It is an indictment of the Agency for their inadequate practice of operational security procedures. It is not known whether this was due to general ignorance on the part of the CIA or as a result of their over confidence in their own capabilities.

The kidnapping of Buckley and Casey's reaction had two direct consequences for U.S. intelligence and policy. One was rooted in William Casey's influence over President Reagan to adopt a more aggressive response against terrorism, a policy that was also strongly advocated by George Schultz.[22] It galvanised the hawks within the administration and the NSC staff and provided further motivation for the presidential directive on terrorism. The latter, National Security Decision Directive 138 (NSDD 138), was signed by

---

[20] The burn-bag is a briefcase fitted with an incendiary device which is supposed to be activated by the CIA officer in the event of kidnap or an attempt to obtain the bag from him / her by unauthorised persons. In Buckley's case, he was assaulted from behind by his captors and probably had no chance to activate the device. Buckley was allegedly transferred from Lebanon to Teheran where he was interrogated and then send back to Beirut. See Middle East News Agency March 28, 1985 and Oliver North, (1991), op.cit:, p.43

[21] Noel Koch, former Pentagon counter-terrorist officer, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on February 21, 1996.

[22] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.650-664 and Marc A. Celmer, Terrorism, U.S. Strategy, and Reagan Policies, (London, Mansell Publishing, 1987), p.63 and an extract of a statement made by George Schultz in an address to the Trilateral Commission on April 3, 1984 as published by the U.S. Department of State, Realism, Strength, Negotiations: Key Foreign Policy Statements of the Reagan Administration (Washington D.C., U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, May 1984), p.8

President Reagan on April 3, 1984.[23] This finding was a de facto declaration of war against radical Islamic guerrilla groups in the Middle East and Northern Africa and was an important milestone in the administration's response to terrorism.[24] It promulgated the administration's policy of responding to terrorism with military force and authorised the use of covert action.[25] NSDD 138 also authorised the establishment of secret FBI and CIA para-militrary squads and the use of military units such as the Green Berets and the Navy SEALS for conducting counter-terrorist operations.[26] The directive made provision for sabotage, pre-emptive strikes and covert operations against terrorist groups which threatened U.S. national security.[27] Although this directive created the legal framework for the establishment and use of military force against terrorism, the administration itself remained divided over when to employ force and effectively lacked the political will to retaliate militarily against Hizb'allah in Lebanon.[28] The revelations that President Reagan had authorised covert actions, however, proved to be an embarrassment for the administration a year later with the unsuccessful assassination attempt against Sheikh Fadlallah in Beirut.[29]

---

[23] See "Preemptive Anti-Terrorist Raids Allowed," Washington Post, April 16, 1984, p.19 as well as "Secret Policy on Terrorism Given Airing," Washington Post, April 18, 1984, p.1, and Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, pp.179-180.

[24] See Marc A Celmer, (1987), op.cit:, pp.114-117.

[25] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.168 and Christopher Simpson, (1995), op.cit:, p366.

[26] See Robert Toth, "U.S. Acts To Curb Terrorism Abroad," Los Angeles Times, April 15, 1984 and David Hoffman and Don Oberdorfer, "Secret Policy on Terrorism Given Airing," Washington Post, April 18, 1984

[27] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.185. According to Turner, while terrorism was certainly a problem and cause of frustration for the Reagan Administration in Lebanon, it was not a threat to America's national security.

[28] See Juliana S Peck, The Reagan Administration and the Palestinian Question, (Washington D.C., The Institute for Palestine Studies,1984), pp.115-118. See also George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.643-653

[29] While the directive did not authorise assassinations, it did not rule out terrorists being killed in retaliatory military raids. The Fadlallah incident was not carried out by the CIA, however, but it is alleged that William Casey came to a secret agreement with Saudi intelligence to mount an operation using Lebanese agents and an ex-British SAS explosives

From the perspective of intelligence tasking, the resulting response initiative (NSDD 138) placed a burden on the intelligence community to provide the administration with information pertaining to terrorist organisations and individuals in order for the administration to use that information towards justifying its response initiatives. This created a dilemma for the intelligence services as the protection of their sources and methods were placed at risk of exposure and further compromise for the purposes of political expediency.[30] Governments normally have only two response options. One is military retaliation. The other is to arrest and convict the perpetrators. Both options imply that information pertaining to the terrorists planning and operations must be made public which would necessitate the disclosure of intelligence methods and sources. This places future intelligence operations and agents at risk of exposure and compromise. The principle of legitimacy clashed directly with intelligence in that it threatened to expose the Agency's agents and methods of collection. At the same time their covert operations against terrorism and their activities in the interests of the securing the release of the hostages, was in direct opposition to the principle of legitimacy.

The second consequence of the Buckley saga was the Reagan Administration's mollified stance towards Iran and the origins of the Iran-Contra Affairs which evolved later.[31] Although the concept of rapprochement with Iran originated with Geoffrey Kemp as early as January 1984, the idea was not acted upon until a year later when the NSC staff, prompted by McFarlane and Donald Fortier, the senior

---

expert to assassinate Fadlallah. See Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.435 and Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.489-492

[30] Stansfield Turner, former DCI, in an **interview**, on July 22, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia.

[31] See Sue Baker, "U.S. Dealt With Iranian Tied to Buckley Kidnapping," Reuters Library Report, November 18, 1987 and "Iran-Contra Report: Arms, Hostages and Contras: How a Secret Policy Unravelled," New York Times, November 19, 1987, p.A12. and "Iran-Contra Hearings: 'Felt Keenly For Buckley'," New York Times, August 1, 1987, p.A7

director for political-military affairs, requested the CIA to prepare a SNIE on Iran. Fortier requested Graham Fuller the NIO for the Near East and South Asia for help. Fuller's SNIE, titled, "Toward a Policy on Iran," was submitted to Casey on May 17, 1984 and warned of the growing threat of the Soviet Union in the region (following that country's invasion of Afghanistan)[32] and the impending struggle for succession within Iran.[33] It also pointed out that the U.S. policy of denying weapons to Iran (Operation Staunch) and accusing Iran of sponsoring terrorism was having a decidedly negative effect upon U.S. - Iran relations. Fuller argued that the U.S. and Iran shared a common interest in preventing Soviet expansion in the region and advocated a policy of rapprochement towards Iran.[34] Casey, McFarlane, NSC consultant Michael Ledeen and Fuller believed that by making contact with moderate elements within the Iranian regime, the two countries would strive towards a more harmonious relationship that could culminate in a common strategy against Soviet expansionism. This belief originated from Ledeen's contact with Israeli officials, David Kimche and Prime Minister Shimon Peres.[35] The Israeli intelligence originated from a report that was submitted to Mossad on May 2, 1985 by a dubious character, Manucher Ghorbanifar. In this report, Ghorbanifar claimed that there were three factions competing for power in the line up for the succession of the Ayatollah Khomeini.[36] Ghorbanifar displayed an intimate knowledge of the players and claimed to have intimate contact with the moderate camp. He persuaded the Israelis that in order to curry favour with the

---

[32] See Michael Schaller, Reckoning With Reagan, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), p.157 and Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, p.176

[33] See David Mervin, Ronald Reagan & The American Presidency, (London, Longman, 1990), pp.152-153 and Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.149

[34] See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.407 and Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.202.

[35] See Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, Every Spy a Prince, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1990), pp.335-336 and Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.201

[36] See David Ben Menashri, Iran: A Decade of War and Revolution, (London, Holmes & Meier, 1990), p.377 and Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.133

moderates, that Israel should sell weapons to the Iranian government via his connections.[37] This would strengthen the Iranian moderates position and would pave the way for better relations between them. During his visit to Israel in May 1985, Ledeen was approached by Shimon Peres to request U.S. permission for Israel to sell American made TOW missiles to Iran.[38] The NSC staff under McFarlane regarded this as an opportunity to gain a new foot in the door with Iran and the hope prevailed that a natural follow up would be to approach the moderate camp to exercise its influence over Hizb'allah to secure the release of the hostages.[39] In fact, this idea was encouraged by David Kimche and Manucher Ghorbanifar.[40] According to Draper, the CIA supported this view and issued a revision of its basic analysis on Iran on May 20, 1984 in which it reinforced the need to compete with the Soviets for Iran's favour.[41]

The Agency's optimism may have stemmed from the statements that had been made during the past twenty four months by the Speaker of the Iranian parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani, in which he declared that Iran saw no shame in using and acquiring American weapons.[42] This was supported by the fact that a CIA source disclosed that there were between 30 to 40 requests per year from Iranians and Iranian exiles for American arms.[43] On June 11, 1984, Donald Fortier and Howard Teicher presented a draft National Security Decision Directive to the NSC that represented the above

---

[37] See Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, (1990), op.cit:, pp.334-335

[38] See Michael Ledeen, (1988), op.cit, and Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.139

[39] See Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.444 and Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.112

[40] See Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, (1990), op.cit:, pp.334-336

[41] See Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, pp.149-150

[42] See David Ben Menashri, (1990), op.cit:, pp.375-376

[43] See The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, The Tower Report, (Washington D.C., 1987), p. B/3

position. While Schultz agreed that relations between Iran and the U.S. should be improved, he was against the policy proposal. Weinberger rejected the whole concept and called it absurd.[44]

The CIA's support of this flawed strategy is an indication of the poor quality of their intelligence, the danger of relying upon intelligence liaison with Israel and the failure of Agency analysts to test and question the origins of their information.[45] The fault may have originated with the analysts who did not understand the factional complexities that existed within Hizb'allah and between that organisation, Iran and Syria.[46] The decision making dynamics according to which decisions were taken within Hizb'allah and Iran, and to what extent decisions were influenced by Hizb'allah's patrons appears to have eluded the intelligence community. Intelligence managers were either not in touch with their analysts or they deliberately ignored any dissenting views in favour of the concept of improving relations with Iran and seeking an end to the Buckley crisis. A consideration and perhaps the motivation for ignoring the evidence was the belief that any efforts to secure the release of the hostages by dealing with Hizb'allah directly would be pointless and therefore alternative avenues of dialogue had to be found. Ultimately, the chance of moderate outsiders being able to exert any influence over Hizb'allah's leadership was wishful thinking and is a reflection of the lack of understanding of the fundamental dynamics of that organisation by key members within the NSC staff and the intelligence community.[47]

---

[44] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.178-179. This was also confirmed by Howard Teicher during a **telephone interview** with the author on October 23, 1995 and by Geoffrey Kemp during an **interview** with the author on July 19,1995 in Washington, D.C.

[45] See Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.148 and see the comments of Robert McFarlane in the The Tower Report, p.171

[46] See Robin Wright, "Shi'ite Leaders Far From United," Christian Science Monitor, June 25, 1985 and "Iran's Embassy in Syria Called the Key," Los Angeles Times, June 21, 1985

[47] See Gary Sick, All Fall Down: America's Tragic Encounter with Iran, (New York, Random House, 1985) and Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, pp.185-188

The intelligence community's failure to question the logic in this instance was made worse by the fact that Ghorbanifar was known to the CIA and was considered a fabricator and an unreliable source.[48] In addition, the Agency overlooked the memorandum that had been written by Geoffrey Kemp, the NSC staff officer and senior director for Near East and South Asian Affairs, that he had written in January 1984. In that report, Kemp had pointed out that an improvement in relations with Iran would remain highly unlikely for as long as Khomeini was still in power and alive. It confirmed the perception of Iran as a revolutionary regime and America's inability to affect events in Iran and even went so far as to recommend covert operations against Iran.[49] Conditions within Iran had not changed at the time of the Fuller/Ledeen initiative and McFarlane and his NSC staff chose to ignore the contents and implications of the Kemp report. The fact of the matter is that the whole Iran Affair was based upon Ghorbanifar's initial report to Mossad. Either the Agency overlooked this fact or it succumbed to pressure from the consumers, i.e. from McFarlane and Casey, to produce an initiative on Iran and the hostage issue.

In addition to the above conceptual error, the policy of no deals with terrorists, no bargaining for hostages and no compromise with blackmail, placed a restriction upon the administration in dealing with Hizb'allah to secure the release of William Buckley and the other hostages.[50] The administration was faced with two choices: Either change the policy, or accept the captivity of the hostages in order to uphold its policy.[51] Casey and Fuller believed that by making contact

---

[48] See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.413 and Dan Raviv and Yossi Melman, (1990), op.cit:, p.334

[49] This fact was disclosed by Geoffrey Kemp in an interview with the author on July 1995 in Washington D.C. For further confirmation see The Tower Report, p. B/2-3

[50] See the New York Times, July 1, 1985

[51] See Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.121

with moderate Iranian officials, they could justify and circumvent this restriction without compromising the administration's legitimacy.[52] By negotiating with moderate individuals within the Iranian regime, the administration could claim that it was not reneging upon its position of refusing to negotiate with terrorists.[53] On a tactical level, their approach was influenced by the belief that they needed to conduct their overtures to the Iranians on a clandestine basis. Because of the high-level of disapproval of the concept of the arms for hostages swap within the administration, McFarlane kept its implementation within the NSC staff. The CIA was cut out of the operation with the shift of power and some covert operations to the NSC staff.[54] The result of this 'need to know' operating procedure was that they were unable to consult on a wider basis throughout the policy making community and obtain greater expertise. This also prevented them from seeking independent counsel, Congressional approval and public support for their policy initiative.[55]

While as far as covert operations go, the objective in itself was not flawed, it was their methodology of attempting to secure the release of the hostages first, that precipitated failure and culminated in the Iran Affair.[56] The CIA (Casey) who were concerned over the fate of William Buckley supported the Fuller-Ledeen initiative on condition that the hostage issue was resolved first.[57] Although it is

---

[52] For an explanation of circumventing an adversary in crisis management, See Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr., "Crisis Management," in Werner Kaltefleiter and Ulrike Schumacher, Conflicts, Options and Strategies in a Threatened World, (Kiel, Institute for Political Science, Christian Albrechts University, 1987), p.29

[53] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995.

[54] See the remarks made by William Casey in an interview with Time, on December 22, 1986. See also John Ranelagh, (1987), op.cit:, p.712 and the account in footnote no.72 on page 816

[55] See John Tower, Edmund Muskie and Brent Scowcroft, The Tower Commission Report, (New York, Bantam Books,1987)

[56] For an overview of the Iran-Contra affair, see Jonathan Marshall, Peter Scott and Jane Hunter, (1988), op.cit. For additional information see also Michael Ledeen, (1988), op.cit.

[57] See Nikki R Keddie and Mark J Gasiorowski, (1990), op.cit:, pp.172-173 and Ben Bradlee Jnr, (1988), op.cit:, p.305

recognised that the release of Buckley was a primary objective, the administration's response was over ambitious and reflected a failure to limit their objectives during a crisis.

On September 20, 1984, six months after the kidnapping of Buckley, Hizb'allah bombed the U.S. embassy annex in East Beirut.[58] The suicide driver, who managed to evade the vehicle barriers, was killed by one of the bodyguards of the British Ambassador who was waiting outside of the embassy at the time.[59] Although this prevented the suicide driver from reaching the basement parking lot - his intended point of detonation, the explosion collapsed five floors of the building but failed to destroy it completely.[60] Subsequent congressional investigations, however, found no fault with the performance of the intelligence community and placed the blame for the attack squarely on the shoulders of the embassy's security personnel.[61] The Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence came to the conclusion that, "...better use of intelligence regarding terrorism could be made."[62] There can be no doubt that sufficient warning intelligence was available prior to this bombing attack. Turner observes,

> ...after the incident, photo interpreters studied the satellite photographs of the Sheikh Abdullah Barracks and found a mock-up of the obstacles that had been placed in the front of the embassy annex together with track marks which indicated that drivers had practised exercise runs through them.[63]

---

[58] See Nora Boustany, "Terror Bomb Kills 23 at U.S. Embassy Office in Lebanon," Washington Post, September 21, 1984

[59] See John Kifner, "Flaws Seen at West Beirut Embassy," New York Times, September 25, 1984

[60] See William E Smith, Time, October 1, 1984, pp.20-23. It was alleged that the driver of the van intended to drive the vehicle into the basement parking level which would have resulted in the collapse of the entire building.

[61] See U.S. Intelligence Performance and the September 20, 1984 Beirut Bombing, U.S. Congressional Report by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1984), pp.2-3

[62] Ibid.

The embassy attack revealed a dysfunction between intelligence and its consumers at the lower and functional levels of the bureaucracy. Communications between the intelligence community and the security personnel either failed, or the security personnel were simply incompetent. At this lower end of the producer - consumer relationship, there is a case to be made for greater interaction between the intelligence community and the executive. An activist approach would certainly facilitate the involvement of intelligence personnel who could galvanise the security personnel into action. The same can be said about the producer - consumer relationship and the government's response to the kidnapping crisis. This revealed that the breakdown in the producer - consumer relationship did not only occur at the point of implementation, but at the policy making level as well. In the administration's efforts to secure the release of the hostages, subsequent overtures that were developed and made by the administration toward Iran were ill considered and incohesive as will be explained below.

4.2 The principle of identifying and limiting objectives

The biggest mistake that was made by the Reagan Administation was that its policy objectives with regard to the Lebanon problem were not limited, neither were they prioritised. In addition, Hizb'allah's strategy of hostage taking, created a fundamental dilemma. On the one hand they were compelled to respond to their moral obligation of protecting their citizens from international terrorism, and lending credence to President Reagan's pledge to exact "swift and effective retribution". On the other hand the administration had to maintain its credibility by upholding its principles and commitment of not making

[63] Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.177 and David Martin and John Walcott (1988), op.cit:, p.159 and Bob Woodward and Charles R Babcock, "Antiterrorist Plans Rescinded After Unauthorised Bombing," Washington Post, December 2, 1985

concessions to terrorists.[64] This was based upon the premise that any such overtures would encourage further acts of terrorism.[65] This policy dictum precluded negotiations with Hizb'allah.[66] This dilemma could not have occurred at a more inopportune time. The administration was facing the 1984 presidential campaign and election politics and their campaign strategy overshadowed all other immediate political concerns.[67] The memories of the U.S. embassy siege and hostages in Iran during the Carter administration were still fresh in the minds of the American public. The Reagan team did not want to incur a repetition of an administration being held to ransom over U.S. hostages for any protracted length of time. Most importantly, they did not want another hostage crisis to become a focal campaign issue. The primary objective of the administration in responding to the emerging hostage crisis was to suppress the problem as far as possible, keeping it from the public agenda. This placed the burden upon the NSC staff and the intelligence community to respond to the crisis in a covert manner. They were forced to remain focused upon a response strategy that would exclude direct contact and negotiations with representatives of Hizb'allah. This steered their initiatives in the direction of those actors whom they perceived as being able to wield influence over Hizb'allah. The administration identified Syria, but more importantly Iran, as potential players in a strategy of circumventing Hizb'allah. On a higher strategic level, Iran featured within the government's greater ambitions of Soviet containment in the region.[68]

---

[64] See Public Report of the Vice President's Task Force On Combating Terrorism, (Washington D.C., U.S. government Printing Office, February 1986) and the U.S. Department of State, International Terrorism: U.S. Policy on Taking Americans Hostage, (Washington, D.C., Bureau of Public Affairs, June 1986).

[65] See Brian Jenkins, "The U.S. Response to Terrorism: A Policy Dilemma," Armed Forces Journal International, (April 1985) and Ronald Crelinsten and Alex P. Schmidt, "Western Responses to Terrorism: A Twenty-Five Year Balance Sheet," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4 No.4, (Winter 1992), pp.307-340

[66] See Paul Wilkinson, (1987), op.cit.

[67] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit.

4.3 The principle of limiting the means

This inhibitive strategy prevented the CIA and the administration from entering into direct negotiations with Hizb'allah. The result was that they were unable to determine and address the key issues behind the hostage crisis which were Hizb'allah's objectives of securing the release of the al Da'wa 17 detainees in Kuwait and forcing the United States to withdraw from Lebanon.[69] Consequently, intelligence tasking concentrated on the search for information in support of the administration's counter terrorist policy which distracted them from applying a more lateral approach and addressing broader policy objectives and alternatives.

Hizb'allah's attack against the U.S. embassy annex demonstrated a total disregard of intelligence warnings by the consumer despite the fact that ample warnings had been circulated.[70] What is surprising was the fact that at the State Department - intelligence interface level there appeared to be little appreciation of the fact that it remained Hizb'allah's objective to remove the physical presence of the United States from Lebanon. The implications of Hizb'allah's statements of intent appears to have been ignored by the policy makers and those consumers responsible for the physical safety of U.S. interests. In view of the domestic political impact of the first two bomb attacks in 1983, the prevention of any similar incidents should have been a high priority. This was even more relevant given the fact that 1984 was an election year.[71] At the very least the U.S. ambassador should have

---

[68] See John Lewis Gaddis, Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Post-War American National Security Policy, (Oxford University Press, 1982)

[69] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit.:, p.162 and the Arab Times, March 28, 1984 and the Financial Times, April 24, 1984

[70] This observation was made byStansfield Turner, former DCI, **interview,** on July 22, 1995, Skipworth, McLean Virginia and also by Noel Koch during a **telephone interview**, with the author on February 21, 1996. See "U.S. Had Reliable Warnings Diplomats Were Bombing Target: Explosives Were Tracked to Lebanon," Washington Post, October 18, 1984, p.A1 and "The Issue of Embassy Security Stalks Another Administration," Washington Post, September 30, 1984, P.A26

[71] The embassy annex attack was used by Senator Walter Mondale to launch a

insisted on delaying the occupation of the new premises until all the physical security measures were in place.[72] Furthermore due to the sensitivity of the American public, the U.S. government should have insisted on protecting the embassy annex with its own military personnel and not abdicated this responsibility to the Lebanese Armed Forces, who took over form the Marines a few days prior to the attack.[73] The Marines were withdrawn as part of a decision to scale down the number of American personnel in Lebanon.

In focusing upon the immediate problem of the administration's response to terrorism and the hostage crisis during 1984 amid the re-election campaign, the intelligence community maintained an ethnocentric perspective. Efforts to examine the administration's policy objectives on a broader conceptual level were conducted within the confined framework of U.S. - Soviet strategic relations. The administration was cognitively confined by a policy predilection that focused their response on the premise that Hizb'allah was pursuing a strategy of terrorism against U.S. interests at the behest and direction of Iran. They discounted the fact that Hizb'allah was largely an independent actor. They placed a far greater emphasis on the secular influences within Hizb'allah and failed to recognise the extremely influential role of its clerics.[74] The administration's focus on the state-sponsorship dimension of the crisis was driven by their perception that it was easier to respond and retaliate against a state

---

scathing attack on the Reagan Administration wherein he stated that in an interview on CNN in October 18, 1984, that, "...there is growing evidence that no one is in charge of American foreign policy and security, and I don't recall any time in modern history where we've had one right after another of the identical threats, the identical acts, and steps not taken." See "Eyeing Beirut Security Warnings, Mondale Asks 'Who's in Charge?," Washington Post, October 19, 1984, p.A4.

[72] Despite additional warnings from the Defence Intelligence Agency and the Beirut Embassy Security Chief Alan Bigler that incomplete security arrangements at the embassy annex posed a grave threat to the U.S. and personnel, the State Department occupied the building anyway. See Marc A Celmer, (1987), op.cit:, p.24

[73] See William E Smith, Time, October 1, 1984, pp.20-23

[74] See Amir Taheri, Holy Terror: The Inside Story of Islamic Terrorism, (London, Sphere Books, 1987). See also Bruce Hoffman, (March 1990), op.cit:, pp.9-14 and Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit.

actor, such as Iran, than a terrorist organisation that was fragmented and integrated with the civilian population to the point of being almost intangible. By limiting their perception of realpolitik to the concept of state actors the administration focused the problem on the inter-state level. In so doing it avoided the dilemma having to recognise and retaliate against an elusive organisation.

The focus on state actors resulted in the independent objectives and influence of non-state actors, such as Hizb'allah, being given much less consideration and even discounted. The administration failed to recognise that its objectives could be opposed effectively by a non-state actor. This cognitive error prevented the intelligence community from asking the appropriate questions and from identifying the relevant intelligence requirements. They did not reflect upon the extended nature of their objectives and how, when faced with the crisis of continued terrorism in Lebanon, it might have been prudent to limit the U.S. objectives. It also failed to address the problem of Hizb'allah divorced from the context of secular control and the wider parameters of U.S. - Soviet relations. In short, the intelligence community failed to make its presence felt within the decision making community.

4.4 The intelligence imperative

With their human intelligence sources and assets compromised William Casey ordered the intelligence community to increase its monitoring of communications signals between Teheran and Baalbek in the hopes of gathering information that could point to Buckley's whereabouts.[75] Much of the human intelligence that was collected was through intelligence liaison with British and Israeli sources.[76]

---

[75] See Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.112

[76] William Beck, **interview** with the author on August, 2, 1995. This was also confirmed by Vincent Cannistraro, during an **interview** with the author in McLean, Virginia,

What little American humint that was collected was done mostly by U.S. Foreign Service Personnel, and then on the cocktail circuit in Beirut.[77] This overt reliance upon Israel for human intelligence also rendered the U.S. vulnerable to Israeli manipulation and mistakes as demonstrated in the discussion on the origins of the Iran Affair.[78] In the absence of the CIA's humint network, the intelligence community had to rely on its techint capabilities and resources for collection. This overt dependence upon techint affected the analysis of its information and made the verification of intelligence much more difficult. This was one of the factors that contributed towards the second embassy bombing in September 1984.

4.4.1 Intelligence analysis; problems encountered with politicisation and in crisis communication

> ...intelligence must be close enough to policy, plans and operations to have the greatest amount of guidance and must not be so close that it loses its objectivity and integrity of judgement.[79]

In the aftermath of their numerous setbacks in Lebanon the U.S. administration's critical introspection of its intelligence performance was judged against a very narrow set of criteria.[80] The acts of violence against American installations and personnel placed the emphasis on warning intelligence and failed to include opportunity analysis. After the second embassy bombing President Reagan in his

on July 21, 1995.

[77] See the testimony of Herman Cohen before the Hearings Of The Commission On The Roles And Capabilities Of The United States Intelligence Community, Washington D.C., January 19, 1996

[78] See Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, (1992), op.cit:, p.337 and George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, pp.79 & 134, and "Mossad Deceived CIA, U.S. Military," Reuters Report, September 14, 1990

[79] See Sherman Kent, (1966), op.cit:, p.37

[80] Stansfield Turner, **interview** on July 23, Skipworth McLean, Virginia

mounting frustration attempted to place the blame for his administration's failure to implement adequate security measures at the embassy annex on the crippled intelligence capabilities brought about during the Carter Administration.[81] Reagan alleged that the problem was the result of the previous administration's response to public pressure to limit the powers of the intelligence community. He also blamed their over emphasis on the development of technical intelligence assets as opposed to human sources.[82] No one in his administration made mention of the fact that the CIA had been compromised in Lebanon as a result of the kidnapping of William Buckley. In essence, intelligence requirements and tasking remained focused upon implementing the President's unrealistic promise of "swift and effective retribution." The intelligence community did not offer any alternative solutions because they simply were not asked to provide any.[83] The tradition of not advocating policy objectives remained an insurmountable barrier between a policy that was obsolete by design and suffered from a fundamental lack of innovation. In this instance, the administration did not find itself having to limit its objectives. The nature of the problem, their environment, policy and the fact that Hizb'allah had the initiative through the hostages, prevented any real alternatives. Together with the limited means at its disposal, the administration was constrained in a grid-lock and unable to respond to the strategy of terror that Hizb'allah, Syria and Iran so effectively applied against it.

For the intelligence community it held different implications. These were the threat to their institutional interests and the danger of disclosure of their intelligence assets and methods as explained above. Another implication was the inherent tension between

---

[81] See Stansfield Turner (1991), op.cit:, p.174

[82] See David Hoffman, "Reagan Ties Beirut Attack to Curb on Intelligence," Washington Post, September 27, 1984

[83] See David Kennedy, (1988), op.cit:, pp.9-12

terrorism, state response and legitimacy. Counter terrorist operations usually include covert operations, surveillance, mail interception and electronic eavesdropping. All of these methods are regarded by the electorate as an intrusion into the lives of individuals and invoke protests against the infringement of civil liberties and the fear of abuse by the authorities.[84] A key requisite for successful counter-terrorist intelligence is the collection and analysis of extensive data on the background and activities of members and associates of known terrorists and suspect individuals.[85] While terrorism is generally recognised by the majority of the public as a threat to security within democratic societies, public concern arises from the knowledge that extensive data pertaining to suspected individuals and organisations can be collected and stored in instances where such persons may be innocent.[86] While the concern is that this function of intelligence can be abused and that civil liberties may be infringed, the counter argument is that in many instances suspect individuals and organisations are not always immediately identifiable. This necessitates a preliminary amount of observation and recording of data pertaining to their activities until any involvement can be either confirmed or negated.[87]

The danger of counter-terrorist intelligence lies in the access that it provides government and security agencies in collecting information on almost anybody and the application opportunities that such information provides for illegitimate and extraneous purposes.[88]

---

[84] Ibid.

[85] For an overview of the use of intelligence in counter terrorism, see Ken Robertson, (1987), op.cit:, p.555

[86] See F Donner, "The Terrorist as the Scapegoat," The Nation, May 20, 1978 and Walter Laqueur, (1985), op.cit:, pp.326-332

[87] See R.H. Kupperman, Facing Tomorrow's Terrorist Incident Today, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1977), p.3

[88] See Abraham H Miller and James S Robbins, "The CIA, Congress, Covert Operations, and the War on Terrorism," in Stephen J Cimbala, (1987), op.cit:, pp.145-162 and Robert Asprey, War in the Shadows, Volume 2, (Garden City, New York, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1975)

A classical example of intelligence abuse under the guise of national security by the CIA, was the Watergate affair in 1973.[89] The unfortunate consequence of this debate, however, is the fact that it has been polarised into simplistic extremes.[90] It is nevertheless this dichotomy that generates tension between the intelligence imperative and the principle of legitimacy - a problem that overshadows crisis contingency capabilities and counter terrorism. One of the most important factors affecting legitimacy is the manner in which the actions of the authorities are portrayed and the degree to which response measures are judged to be commensurate with the perceived threat or excessive. The media play a crucial role in this regard and where response initiatives are uncoordinated, the authorities run the risk of incurring severe criticism.

It is at this juncture that the tension between terrorism and government response initiatives, which revolves around the concept of legitimacy, surfaces. An underlying principle of legitimacy has to do with the public's perception, "...whether or not terrorism is synonymous with war or whether certain groups involved are in a virtual war."[91] Another aspect was the problem that one of the factors that complicates intelligence gathering on terrorism, is the distinction between intelligence analysis for the purpose of producing estimates and intelligence for law enforcement.[92] Whereas strategic intelligence is an aid towards policy-making, in terrorist induced crises, the function of intelligence is aimed at assisting with the investigative process. In this instance intelligence is relied upon to provide evidence for prosecution purposes as well as for planning and upholding the legitimacy of the government's response actions.[93]

---

[89] See (author unknown), "What the CIA Knew," Newsweek, July 15, 1974, p.29

[90] Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, p.136

[91] Ibid, p.559

[92] See Ken Robertson, "Intelligence Terrorism and Civil Liberties", in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M Stewart, (eds.), (1987), op.cit:, p.556

[93] See G Davidson Smith, "Decision Making and Crisis Management Machinery," in G

Legitimacy is a key issue when considering counter terrorism and is based on the relationship between the perceived threat (terrorism) and consensus. Robertson argues that there must be a general consensus regarding the existence of a perceived threat, and that the response measures applied by the authorities are commensurate with the level of the threat. He explains further that it is only usually during a time of war when the government is permitted to resort to methods that do not lead to prosecution and the infringement of civil liberties. The key question he argues, is "...whether such a consensus exists over terrorism."[94] This influences intelligence tasking with regard to counter terrorism. Robertson points out that, "Intelligence gathering must be based on a clear conception of threat and it must be a perception of threat which can command a high degree of public support."[95] The objective of prosecuting terrorists for their deeds in a court of law places greater emphasis on collection requirements that are designed for the purposes of providing proof, rather than analysis of terrorist intentions and their underlying motives.

In most western societies, the responsibility for counter-terrorism falls within the ambit of the national police and counterintelligence agencies, where such activity is governed by legislation.[96] The National Security Decision Directive 138 issued by President Reagan tasked the intelligence community with collecting information pertaining to terrorism. This directive helped to skew the focus of intelligence gathering on providing proof of culpability and the identity of those individuals and state sponsors for attacks that had been carried out.[97] This demand contributed to the intelligence

---

Davidson Smith, The Liberal Democratic Response to Terrorism: A Comparative Study of the Policies of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom, (Aberdeen, Aberdeen University, PhD Thesis, 1986), p.408

[94] See Ken Robertson, (1987), op.cit:, p.557

[95] See John Ranelagh, (1987), op.cit:, p.700 and Ken Robertson, (1987), op.cit:, p.559

[96] Many governments have allocated the responsibility for counter-terrorism to the counterintelligence divisions of their law enforcement and national intelligence communities. This was also the case in the United Kingdom and South Africa.

carried out.[97] This demand contributed to the intelligence community's limited vision and from applying counterintelligence principles to the crisis.

The objective of counterintelligence is to deny an adversary access to your capabilities and intentions, while simultaneously seeking information pertaining to his.[98] The goal of counterintelligence is to wield the enemy's agents and other methods of collection against him, seeking an advantage, rather than to destroy or punish those involved.[99] The overall strategy that is pursued in counterintelligence is that of *divide and ruin*. This implies seeking out those areas of vulnerability that will present the authorities with the opportunity to generate confusion, complication, distrust and fragmentation among the terrorist organisation's leadership, as well as their rank and file. It is a counter strategy against the terrorist objective of driving a wedge between the incumbent authority and the target population. It is essentially a war of minds, as opposed to the pursuit of law. Given that resources and intelligence assets are usually scarce commodities, the concept of the dual role of intelligence in counter terrorism is often overlooked in a world of diminishing budgets and intelligence assets. Consequently intelligence efforts are focused upon gathering information towards the prevention of terrorist incidents and the prosecution of those responsible, as opposed to responding to the threat by frustrating the ideological integrity of the terrorist individual or group. Intelligence analysis remains too narrowly focused with the result that lateral

---

[97] Christopher Simpson, National Security Directives of the Reagan & Bush Administrations: The Declassified History of U.S. Political & Military Policy 1981-1991, (Oxford, Westview Press, 1995), pp.405-411

[98] For an overview of counter intelligence see the essays by George Kalaris, Leonard McCoy and Merrill Kelly and the discussions by Kenneth de Graffenreid and James Geer in Roy Godson (ed.), Intelligence Requirements for the 1990s: Collection, Analysis, Counterintelligence and Covert Action, (Washington D.C., The National Strategy Information Center, 1989), pp.127-164 and Abraham Shulsky, (1991), op.cit:, p.178

[99] See Ken Robertson, op.cit:, p.557

thinking and opportunity analysis remain subordinate to prevention and prosecution.

In Lebanon the American intelligence community concentrated upon gathering information that would lead them to the location of the hostages and for potential targets for military reprisal. This was largely superfluous given the fact that unless they were able to identify the location of all the hostages simultaneously at any given moment, a rescue attempt would endanger the lives of those hostages that could not be located and freed. In addition, the divisions within the administration over the use of force against terrorists undermined the political will to authorise any rescue operations. Analysis did not focus upon the growing phenomenon of Hizb'allah, its strengths and weaknesses nor its underlying objectives in the region. Even if the intelligence community had applied itself on a more lateral basis, it remains doubtful whether anything would have been achieved, given the breakdown in the producer - consumer relationship and the dysfunction in consumer receptiveness to intelligence input. For the policy makers, the problem had international political ramifications namely, the application of terrorism by a state actor such as Iran.

William Casey and George Schultz believed that the U.S. was involved in a war where terrorism was being used as a strategy against them and by a state actor, namely, Iran. Schultz became the most outspoken cabinet member of the Reagan Administration in this regard and argued that, "...the U.S. was in fact at war against the forces of international terrorism and that it had an obligation to play a leading role in the fight against terrorism."[100] This perception was extended when during 1985, the Denton Committee, a U.S. Judiciary Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism named after Senator

---

[100] See George P Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.687-688 and George Schultz's comments before an audience at the Park Avenue Synagogue, New York, October 25, 1984 and see George Schultz's comments in, An Address Before the American Society for Industrial Security, Arlington, Virginia, February 4, 1985, p.2

Jeremiah Denton, was heavily influenced by a report by Ray Cline and Yonah Alexander.[101] They came to the conclusion that the U.S. was engaged in a struggle against terrorism and that this could be described more accurately as covert warfare that was being waged against the U.S. by state - sponsors of terrorism.[102] This underlying perception side-tracked analysts from considering the factors which influenced Hizb'allah's motives and activities. They overlooked the fact that it was an organisation with a will of its own. This failure becomes more evident as we continue to examine the administration's response and its dilemma in applying appropriate instruments and techniques during the hostage crisis.

Following the events of 1983, a far more complex producer - consumer relationship evolved within the Reagan Administration. Essentially this myriad of multiple interactive relationships consisted of: (a) the link between the Agency and its director, William Casey, (b) the link between the Agency and the executive, (c) the relationship with the NSC staff and (c) the Agency's relationship with Congress. At cabinet level there was also interaction between Casey, the president, the National Security Council and Congress. Within the intelligence community, divergent agendas prevailed with Casey who was an activist and the Agency which was staffed at subordinate levels by traditionalist officers.[103] This inevitably caused tensions within the Agency and resulted in Casey's frustration with the 'heel dragging' that went on when subordinates reluctantly carried out demands from the top.[104] The bureaucrats in the Agency realised that in utilising military instruments of statecraft to respond to terrorism

---

[101] See U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, of the Committee of Judiciary, The Denton Committee, (Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985)

[102] See Ray Cline and Yonah Alexander, Terrorism As State Sponsored Covert Warfare, (Arlington, Virginia, Hero Books, 1986)

[103] According to Stansfield Turner, **interview**, on July 22, 1995, in Skipworth, McLean, Virginia and John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[104] See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.487

the disclosure of intelligence assets and capabilities would produce pressure on the Agency to disclose its methods and sources. These concerns and inflexibility undermined opportunity analysis, influenced the producer - consumer relationship and reinforced the traditionalist discipline.

This perception of the role of intelligence in counter terrorism had a direct influence upon intelligence interpretation and analysis. The intelligence community remained subservient and un-dynamic in its performance, thought and relationship with the decision makers. Adherence to traditionalist principles and the prevailing notion that it was not the intelligence community's responsibility to suggest policy, inhibited lateral thinking and prevented the analysts from challenging policy initiatives that were based upon faulty assumptions. An example of this was the Iran Affair. An independent investigation conducted by DCI William Webster (Casey's successor) into the Directorate of Intelligence and in particular the paper of Graham Fuller, revealed that the Fuller's memorandum was inaccurate and highly politicised. The investigation carried out by an independent lawyer, Mark Matthews, also reported that the Iran-Contra affair and the Fuller initiative had seriously undermined Agency morale and that many senior analysts wanted to resign over the politicisation of analysis under Casey and Gates.[105]

The administration's policy on terrorism and the operational requirements for conducting reprisal raids and rescue efforts defined intelligence priorities. This dictated the conceptual parameters of the intelligence community and stymied its intellectual response. The community focused its collection and analytical efforts on the fate of the hostages and on possible rescue and retaliation options. It failed to consider alternatives, such as initiating negotiations with Hizb'allah directly, or attempting to secure the release of the al Dawa 17 prisoners, which may have opened the way for the release of the

[105] See Mark Perry (1992), op.cit., pp.97-99

hostages. It did not identify the weaknesses of its adversaries for possible exploitation, such as disrupting the logistic support that Hizb'allah received from Iran and Syria. The Agency displayed very little initiative. The traditionalist posture of Agency managers, who preferred to adopt a conservative and cautious approach to the kidnapping of William Buckley and the subsequent hostage crisis, ultimately led to frustration on the part of William Casey and within the NSC staff. This encouraged Casey and other key individuals to utilise the NSC staff to circumvent the Agency and to engage in field and covert operations on behalf of the United States government.[106] The NSC staff which normally served as the interface between the intelligence community and the government usurped the role and function of intelligence analysis and conducted covert operations on their own.[107] This contributed even further to the breakdown in communication between decision makers and the intelligence community.

Tension caused by the differences in opinion between traditionalist and activists prevailed within the CIA and the Agency and its consumers. At the helm of the Agency was a director who was an activist and determined to circumvent Congress and legislation when they frustrated any initiatives to secure Buckley's release and that of the subsequent hostages.[108] Within the organisation itself, career intelligence officers and directors like John McMahon were determined to preserve the integrity of the Agency and prevent its image from being tarnished. Accordingly they remained reluctant to engage in any activities, such as the removal from circulation of terrorist leaders, which may have compromised or discredited the

---

[106] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.517

[107] See the U.S. House of Representatives Senate Select Committee to Investigate Covert Arms Transactions with Iran. The Tower Commission Report, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, February 26, 1987)

[108] See Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, The CIA and American Democracy, (London, Yale University Press, 1989), p.240 and Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.488. See also Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, p.370

CIA.[109] Rather than taking a firm stance either behind or in opposition to their director, key intelligence officers and managers within the CIA choose to remain inept and employed delaying tactics instead of implementing the DCI's initiatives.[110]

Despite his attempts to secure the release of Buckley using the resources of the intelligence community, including an FBI taskforce, Casey's efforts proved unsuccessful.[111] One of the reasons for this failure was the fact that as DCI, Casey remained at a distance from the case and was therefore unable to personally supervise its progress. Although this implies Casey's involvement in micro management, given the high priority that he personally assigned to the case, a more hands on approach could have achieved more. Beck who argues that Casey was so frustrated by the inability of his subordinates to locate Buckley states that: "... he turned to another organisation - the NSC [staff] and an individual who was goal-orientated, Oliver North - to accomplish what the Agency was unable to do." Beck also claims that in May 1988, Casey's widow privately stated that her husband was aware that various high-ranking subordinates were not particularly forthcoming about Buckley's plight and that Casey knew who they were.[112] Given Casey's bullish nature and forceful character, it is almost inconceivable that he would have tolerated being deceived by his subordinates and only lamented about it without taking any action. While he may have been deliberately kept in the dark by the officers who were assigned with the task of locating Buckley, there was no guarantee that a successful rescue attempt would have, or could

---

[109] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.185 and Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.106-107

[110] See William Beck, U.S. Foreign Policy in Lebanon Under the Reagan Administration 1981-1989, (Washington D.C., M.A.. Thesis, George Washington University, 1989), pp.45-58

[111] For an overview of the tensions between William Casey and the CIA bureaucracy, see Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, (1989), op.cit:, pp.229-247 and Mark Perry, (1992), op.cit:, p.57

[112] See William Beck, (1989), op.cit:, p.68

have been launched.[113] Any rescue operation would invariably have had to involve the co-operation of the military. Caspar Weinberger's stance on the use of the military in counterterrorist operations was well known by this stage and any rescue attempt would most certainly have been influenced and frustrated by his reluctance to become involved in an operation that had no guarantee of success.

While the CIA was hamstrung by its internal dilemma caused by the traditionalist versus activist approach, a dysfunction in the producer - consumer relationship was also evident between military intelligence analysts and the embassy security officers in Beirut which led to the embassy annex attack. The administration's initial reaction to this latest assault was similar to their response to the kidnapping of U.S. citizens in Beirut and influenced by their preoccupation with Reagan's re-election to office.[114] The administration tried to shield itself from the crisis and limit the political consequences of the attack by placing the blame on inadequate intelligence which they alleged was the result of intelligence humint rationalisation under the previous administration. President Reagan attempted to deflect the attention away from their inefficient security precautions and attributed the failure to the intelligence community's deminished capabilities under President Carter's administration and Admiral Stansfield Turner's management of the CIA.[115] President Reagan stated that, "We're feeling the effects today of the near destruction of our intelligence capability in recent years, before we came here."[116] Subsequent investigations, however, proved that this latest terrorist attack was not the result of an intelligence failure, but that it had been caused by the breakdown in producer - consumer

---

[113] William Beck, **interview** on August, 2, 1995

[114] See Philip Taubman, "Simple Mistake in Beirut Bombing," New York Times, October 26, 1984

[115] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.172

[116] See David Hoffman, "Reagan Ties Beirut Attack to Curb Intelligence," Washington Post, September 27, 1984

communication and the failure of the consumers to respond adequately to the warnings that the intelligence community had issued.[117] The Senate Foreign Relations Committee came to the conclusion that, "...the attack was the result of a simple mistake of not blocking access to the road leading to the embassy annex."[118] In this instance it was not inadequate intelligence that was at fault, but the failure on the part of the consumers at a lower bureaucratic level to react to the information.

In the wake of the bombing the administration's failure to respond once again with resolve reflected a bureaucratic malaise which paralysed the administration.[119] The stalemate between George Schultz and the activists who advocated the use of force in support of policy objectives, against Caspar Weinberger's dogmatic refusal to use force in support of political objectives, remained unresolved.[120] The situation was also exacerbated by an indecisive president.

Rigid adherence to the administration's policy and the conceptual barriers which prevailed, dictated the parameters within which the intelligence community analysed the problem of terrorism and the government response options in Lebanon. At the macro and state actor level, containment of the Soviet Union and U.S. foreign policy objectives vis a vis the Soviets, Syria, Iran and Israel dominated the Reagan Administration's response strategies. The role of non-state actors such as the PLO, the Pasdaran, Amal and Hizb'allah remained subject to U.S. perceptions of how these organisations featured as proxy forces of the state actors.[121]

---

[117] See U.S. Intelligence Performance and the Beirut Bombing, Report by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, October 3, 1984, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984) and John Kifner, "Flaws Seen at West Beirut Embassy," New York Times, September 25, 1984 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.158-160

[118] Philip Taubman, New York Times, October 26, 1984

[119] Martin and Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.160 and Howard Teicher, former senior NSC Middle East staff member, in a **telephone interview**, with the author on October 23, 1995

[120] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.513

[121] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C. and confirmed by

At the micro level, very little attention was paid to the dynamics of the Lebanese street militias, who were symptoms of and the engine of the malaise of conflict and violence that prevailed within Lebanon and Beirut.[122] The administration subscribed to the strategic view that the crisis could be resolved by the removal of foreign forces from Lebanon which would ultimately deprive the Soviets and their allies of any further opportunism. Terrorism and its manifestation in Lebanon was to be dealt with in terms of the static doctrine of non-negotiation and "swift and effective retribution".

Sustained tension between the intelligence analysts and the decision makers inhibited closer co-operation and communication between them. The engagement in operations by members of the NSC staff, such as the Iran-Contra Affair, meant that tasking, analysis and policy implementation were conducted by the same group of people. What transpired was the pursuit of information that was regarded relevant to the practical implementation of NSC staff initiatives rather than intelligence and feedback for policy making and adjustment. This meant that communication and the dissemination of information and feedback became a self-serving loop which effectively shut out other key members of the administration, including the wider intelligence community.[123]

Recall that a fundamental principle of crisis management is to establish and maintain direct communications between the crisis management team and the adversary. This principle is directly dependent upon the constraints and limitations imposed upon the government and are usually linked to the moral principles associated with the issue at stake and the public's perception of the legitimacy of

---

Abraham Shulsky, a former senior analyst of the Rand Corporation during the Reagan Administration, during an **interview** with the author on July 18, 1995, Washington D.C.

[122] For an overview of the role and motivations behind the Lebanese and Beirut militias, see Augustus Richard Norton, "Lebanon: Conflict Without End?" Middle East Insight, Vol.VI, Numbers I and II, (Summer 1988), pp.43-46

[123] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.513

the adversary.[124] The employment of negotiation as an instrument of crisis management is governed by the balance of opportunities and constraints that are omni-present in the political environment. It is also subject to the mandate of the parties to grant concessions to one another.[125] The decision over concessions, however, is affected by the deliberation over exactly which moral norms and principles should be upheld and applied. Most debates are a time-consuming process and are a luxury that cannot be afforded during crises. Towards alleviating the situation, crisis contingency planning can be used as an exercise to identify those issues and to formulate appropriate crisis response policy in the event of specific situations, such as terrorism, hostage and barricade incidents.[126] The response of the Reagan Administration to the hostage situation in Lebanon reveals that very little effort was made towards crisis contingency planning.

4.5 Crisis contingency capabilities and counter terrorism.

> Intelligence is the key to judging the credibility of an actual threat and to deciding on the appropriate tactics to employ. Intelligence in counter terrorist operations is vital to planning and in pre-empting terrorist actions, and in the conduct of operations against terrorists in a threat situation.[127]

---

[124] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.301-307

[125] See Richard Clutterbuck, Negotiating With Terrorists," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, (Winter 1992), pp.263-287

[126] These observations were made by Brigadier Andrew Massey, former commanding officer of the SAS, during an **interview** with the author in London on May 5, 1995. This opinion was also offered by Robert Grace of the FBI's Crisis Response Unit during an **interview** with the author on July 13, 1995 at Quantico Bay, USA.

[127] Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, p.145

Despite the history of terrorist aggression against U.S. interests in the Middle East, the administration failed to develop adequate contingency capabilities. This was clearly demonstrated by the embassy annex incident. On October 18, 1984, the Washington post alleged that reliable intelligence sources had revealed that the U.S. government had specific and detailed intelligence warnings that explosives had been shipped into Lebanon for use against U.S. embassy personnel. The report also claimed that a few days prior to the annex attack, a vulnerability assessment had indicated that either the ambassador's residence or the embassy annex were the most likely targets.[128] Despite sufficient warnings, the government failed to respond with adequate measures.[129]

This argument also applies to the abduction of William Buckley. One of the basic tradecraft skills taught to operational intelligence officers is counter surveillance and personal security. In Buckley's case it is not known whether or not he practised these precautions. No evidence of an internal enquiry to establish whether this was an oversight by Buckley alone or if it was part of a broader pattern of neglect by Agency operatives in Beirut, exists.[130] Irrespective of the reasons, however, this proved disastrous as once Buckley had been kidnapped, the administration lost any advantage that it may have had towards developing an effective contingency capability based on sound intelligence.

During the hostage crisis the underlying cause that prohibited the U.S. from any chance at infiltrating Hizb'allah and from applying military force against them in Lebanon was directly attributable to the kidnapping of William Buckley. Two months after the bombing of the

---

[128] See the editorial in the Washington Post, October 18, 1984, p.13

[129] See Terence Smith, "U.S. Said to Have Heard Warning of Beirut Raid," New York Times, October 20, 1984, p.A1.

[130] William Beck, **telephone interview** on August 2, 1995. Lt. Commander Beck was a personal friend of William Buckley and is familiar with the subsequent efforts by the CIA to locate Buckley after his disappearance in Beirut.

BLT barracks in October 1983, the U.S. despatched a small team of military intelligence and special operations experts to Beirut to investigate.[131] This task force made recommendations for retaliatory options using a combination of intelligence penetration and disruption operations combined with military raids against selective targets. The operation was coordinated in Beirut by William Buckley. Before their departure, the team presented Buckley with a detailed briefing of their findings and recommendations.[132] Following his abduction, the administration, the CIA and the Pentagon had to assume that their recommendations, plans and possibly their sources, had been effectively compromised during Buckley's torture.[133] The U.S. had lost the initiative, their intelligence and their sources which were necessary for planning and support in mounting a rescue operation or exercising a military strike.[134]

The implementation of crisis contingency capabilities can go a long way in establishing policy precedents and creating an understanding between the producers who should make their security requirements known, and the crisis managers and policy makers beforehand.[135] This will contribute towards protecting intelligence assets and capabilities so that compromise can be avoided. Likewise, closer interaction between the intelligence community and crisis managers can facilitate a better understanding and appreciation between analysts, collectors and decision makers, of the national and strategic issues at stake.[136] With a clear understanding of the body

---

[131] See David Martin and John Walcott (1988), op.cit:, pp.134-135

[132] See William V Cowan, "Intelligence, Rescue, Retaliation and Decision Making," in Barry Rubin (ed.), Terrorism and Politics, (London, Macmillan and the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute, 1991), pp.2-3. William Cowan was a Defence Intelligence Officer in the U.S. Marine Corps and was one of the members of the intelligence task force despatched to Beirut in December 1983

[133] See Ben Bradlee Jnr, (1988), op.cit:, pp.190-191

[134] See "William Buckley was 'biggest catch' for Lebanese abductors," Agence France Presse, December 27, 1991

[135] Robert Grace and Robin Montgomery, FBI Special Agents in Charge of the Crisis Management Centre at the FBI Academy, **interviews** at Quantico Bay, on July 13, 1995

understanding of the body politics' strategic objectives, intelligence should perform better during crises. This ideal can only be achieved, however, under circumstances where reciprocal communication is encouraged and contingency planning is the result of the consumers' appreciation of the implications of intelligence analysis which, in turn, leads to accurate threat perceptions.[137]

The features of terrorist organisations necessitate high-quality intelligence that is capable of penetrating and infiltrating them as a basis for prevention, containment and the application of counter measures.[138] Following the car bomb attack against the U.S. embassy annex, President Reagan stated that, "...effective defense against terrorism is to infiltrate, intercept and know in advance when and where they are going to strike."[139] The utility of good intelligence in preventing attacks was demonstrated by Israel in the 1970's when its intelligence organisations managed to thwart a number of PLO attacks in the Middle East.[140] The objective of establishing a crisis management capability is to shield the political hierarchy from the effects of terrorism and to provide for a coordinated response to terrorist situations. Given the potential for the media to play an instrumental role in exacerbating and accelerating government response to terrorist situations and in particular during hostage crises, creating a crisis management machinery should include a

---

[136] See Roger Hillsman, Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions, (Glenco, Illinois, The Free Press, 1956) and Robert Cutler, "Intelligence As Foundation For Policy," a declassified intelligence monogram released in terms of the CIA Historical Review Program and published in: Studies in Intelligence, (Langley, Virginia, CIA publication, no date or volume numbers given)

[137] See Stan Taylor and Theodore Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.315-412 and Richard Betts, "Warning Dilemmas: Normal Theory Vs. Exceptional Theory", Orbis, No.26 (Winter 1983), pp.828-833

[138] For an overview of terrorist organisational features see Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, pp.134-136

[139] See comments made by President Reagan as quoted in the New York Times, September 21, 1984, p.12

[140] See James B Motley, "Coping with the Terrorist Threat: The U.S. Intelligence Dilemma," in Stephen J Cimbala, (ed.), (1987), op.cit:, p.166

plan to manage the media.[141] In many instances the media will highlight the impotence or concessions made by the authorities with regard to terrorist threats which, in addition to compromising response initiatives, can invoke public pressure and reaction from the victims of terrorism.[142]

In circumstances where covert operations to deal with terrorism are enacted, media interest can expose these initiatives. This can open up the debate over civil liberties where it is a case of domestic terrorism and human rights in the case of response initiatives on foreign soil. All of which may embarrass the government.[143] This was the case with the failed assassination attempt against Sheikh Fadlallah in Beirut.[144] In this instance the operation undermined the government's strategic initiatives in the region and frustrated the administration's overtures towards improving U.S. - Iranian relations which was aimed at achieving the following objectives:[145] The first was strategic and aimed at preventing Soviet expansionism. Linked to this goal was their second objective that was based on the apprehension of an internal political collapse in Iran and the potential for subsequent exploitation by the Soviet Union.[146] The third objective was the immediate concern for the fate of the other American hostages, that had been kidnapped before and after William Buckley, and the administration's fear of Iranian control.[147] The administration

---

[141] See Robert Oakley, "International Terrorism," Foreign Affairs, Vol.65, No.3, (1986)

[142] See Edward Joyce, "Reporting Hostage Crises: Who's in Charge of Television," SAIS Review, (Winter/Spring 1986), pp.169-176 and Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, pp.151-157 and Newsweek, February 16, 1987

[143] See "Anti-Terrorist Plan Rescinded After Unauthorised Bombing," Washington Post, May 12, 1985, p.1

[144] See Roland Crelinsten, "Victims Perspectives," in David L Paletz and Alex P Schmidt (eds.), Terrorism and the Media, (London, Sage, 1992), pp.208-238

[145] See David Ben Menashi, Iran: A Decade of War and Revolution, (London, Holmes and Weier, 1990), pp.374-385 and See James A Bill, "The U.S. Overtures to Iran, 1985-1986: An Analysis," in Nikki R Keddie and Mark Gasiorowski (eds.), (1990), op.cit:, pp.166-179

[146] Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.408 and 433

[147] See John Tower, Edmund Muskie and Brent Scowcroft, The Tower Commission Report, (New York, Bantam Books, 1987), p.261.

desperately wanted to avoid another protracted hostage crisis where Iran's hold over the administration would dominate the headlines. The fourth goal represented the desire to end the Iran-Iraq war. Lastly, the perceived need to improve U.S. intelligence capabilities in relation to Iran and its neighbours, was an important goal.

After the fall of the Shah of Iran, the loss of the sophisticated listening posts at Kapkan and Behshahr, crippled American intelligence capacity to monitor Soviet activities and the war in Afghanistan.[148] By attempting to re-establish ties with Iran, the administration and the intelligence community hoped to restore part of their crippled intelligence capacity in the Middle East. The role of intelligence in predicting and pre-empting terrorist incidents which is an integral function towards threat analysis, however, contributes towards the tension between legitimacy and crisis contingency capabilities in democratic societies, as will be demonstrated below.

4.6 The principle of legitimacy.

The administration's stated anti-terrorist policy acted as a constraint. Its agreements with its allies on combating terrorism and the need to uphold its credibility as an opponent of international terrorism restricted the government from establishing direct ties with its principal adversary. During the Carter and Reagan Administrations, the U.S. government had entered into a number of international treaties and declarations with its European allies aimed at combating terrorism.[149] This placed the administration in a tenuous

---

[148] Ibid

[149] For an overview of multilateral negotiations and declarations on combating international terrorism, see Marc Celmer, (1987), op.cit:, p.111 Among those listed are: June 1980 at the Venice Economic Summit - Statement on the Taking of Diplomatic Hostages. December 1980 At the North Atlantic Assembly, the Resolution on Terrorism was announced. At the NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting, a Declaration on Terrorism and U.S. Hostages was signed. In 1983 at the Madrid Conference on Security Co-operation in Europe there was a Provision on Terrorism which was signed, and in London in June 1984, at the London Economic Summit a Declaration on terrorism was issued.

position and restricted the government from initiating dialogue or negotiations with Hizb'allah directly because it was expected to maintain a hard line stance towards terrorism.[150]

Other compounding factors which made any overtures between the administration and Hizb'allah difficult was the persistent antagonism displayed towards America by that organisation and the perception of the U.S. administration that dialogue with Hizb'allah was impossible.[151] This influenced the intelligence community and the administration to focus upon Syria, and Iran as alternative avenues towards dialogue. In the pursuit of these initiatives external sources of persuasion, and even finance, were utilised.[152] The administration used individuals, businessmen and organisations such as CNN and the Texas billionaire, Ross Perot, who worked together with the Reverend Jesse Jackson,[153] to function as intermediaries with Iran.[154] Because these initiatives were being conducted by the NSC staff, and controlled from the White House, the intelligence community remained uninformed.[155] A result was that these initiatives towards

---

[150] See U.S. Department of State, "President Ford Signs Ratification of Convention on Terrorism," U.S. Department of State Bulletin, (November 1976) p.554. In a response to a series of kidnappings of diplomats and businessmen in South and Central America, the Organisation of American States (OAS), signed the "Convention to Prevent and Punish Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes against Persons of International Significance." This treaty was signed in Washington on February 2, 1971 by 13 OAS states and was ratified by the U.S. on October 8, 1976.

[151] See Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, pp.203-207

[152] See Bob Woodward, "North Enlisted Billionaire Perot to Ransom Hostages," Washington Post, February 2, 1986

[153] For an overview of the role played by Ross Perot Jesse Jackson and the U.S. hostage crisis in Iran and Lebanon, see, Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p. 408 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.23, 38-39,39-42, 91, 68, 69, 107, 159 & 208. See also Ben Bradlee Jnr, (1988), op.cit:, p.303 and New York Times, December 3, 1986, "The White House: A Billionaire Tried to Help," and Richard L Berke, "The White House Crisis: Perot Says North Got Him to Put Up Ransom Money," New York Times, December 2, 1986

[154] The U.S. had managed to use Syria successfully to secure the release of David Dodge, Frank Reiger and Frenchman, Christian Joubert through the intervention of Syria and Amal in April 1984. See International Herald Tribune, 23 July, 1982, New York Times, September 13, 1982 and International Herald Tribune, April 16, 1984 and Washington Post, May 9, 1984. See also Middle East Reporter, March 28, 1985

[155] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview** on July 19,1995 in Washington, D.C.

the hostage crisis were characterised by the employment of an array of official and unofficial mediators who lacked a clear appreciation and understanding of the constraints and opportunities created by the political environment in Lebanon and the region. This was evident by the erratic fluctuations in U.S. attitude towards Iran and Syria. Operating on a clandestine basis together with the NSC staff, these individuals were unable to benefit from any general and background briefings that the intelligence community could have provided.

Given Iran's predominant hostility towards America, the administration initially focused its efforts on Syria.[156] However, President Asad who exerted a degree of control over Amal,[157] maintained his distance from the U.S. overtures, placing greater value on Syria's strategic and financial relationship with Iran.[158] The administration's efforts to secure Asad's co-operation demonstrated its inability to grasp the complexities of interdependence that existed between Syria, Iran and Hizb'allah. It was also unrealistic to expect any results with the exclusion of Hizb'allah's officials from negotiations.[159] While the no-concessions and no-contact policy between the U.S. and its adversaries dominated the strategic thinking of most of the key administration members, the intelligence bureaucracy for its part displayed very little initiative, if any at all, in correcting this cognitive and strategic error. This problem was never overcome due to the traditionalist discipline that reinforced the

---

[156] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.172 for confirmation that Frank Reiger was released through the efforts of Amal, who stole him from Hizb'allah and then released him.

[157] For Syria's relationship with Amal, see Augustus Richard Norton, (1987), op.cit:. p.68

[158] For an overview of Asad's strategic relationship with Iran, see Patrick Seale, Asad, (London, I. B. Taurus & Co. Ltd, 1988), pp.351-354. See also BBC Summary of World Broadcasts, August 21, 1979. See also the Independent, August 3, 1989 and April 25, 1990 and Xavier Raufer, Middle East Terrorism: Rules of the Game," Political Warfare, (Fall 1991), p.11

[159] See See the editorial in the Washington Post, August 18, 1989 and the Independent, October 23, 1991. See also Magnus Ranstorp, "Hizb'allah's Command Leadership: Its Structure, Decision Making and Relationship with Iranian Clergy and Institutions," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.6, No.3, (Autumn 1994), pp.303-339

overcome due to the traditionalist discipline that reinforced the subservient relationship between the CIA's bureaucracy and the administration and the general lack of confidence in the Agency by its officers and consumers alike.[160] This was exacerbated by an absence of communication between the executive and the legislative branches of government.[161]

It is not very often that intelligence failures are a consequence of collection failures. They are more often the result of the failure to interpret and integrate information in relation to policy objectives. Intelligence as knowledge is punctuated by a series of barriers between its competent collection and its incompetent utilisation.[162] In the case of the embassy annex bombing no fault could be found with the communication and dissemination of intelligence prior to the attack. Subsequent investigations fixed the blame on the shoulders of its consumers, the embassy security personnel. The cause of this failure was not intelligence or policy but the effective appreciation of its implications and an adequate response to the numerous warnings by those responsible at the embassy in Beirut.

In response to the kidnapping of William Buckley, however, the intelligence - policy malfunction was the result of inadequate initiative exercised by the intelligence community. Poor communication inhibited closer contact between producers and consumers with little consideration having been given to whether or not the consumers had asked the right questions. The intelligence community, unaccustomed to the practice of questioning or advocating policy options, did not question the government's counter terrorist policy and continued to conducted its activities in support of the established

---

[160] For an explanation of the reasons behind the CIA's loss of nerve and ability to be innovative, see John Ranelagh, (1987), op.cit:, pp.656-659. See also Christopher Andrew, (1995), op.cit:, p.459

[161] See Robert Ruhl Simmons, "An Evaluation of Intelligence performance During the First Reagan Administration," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.4, No.1, (Spring 1990), p.4 and John Ranelagh, (1987), op.cit:, pp.657-671.

[162] See Christopher Brady, "Intelligence Failures: Plus Ca Change," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.8, No.4, (October 1993), pp.86-96

policy. In addition to the these constraints, the lack of intelligence support in the form of context specific information prevented the Reagan Administration from responding effectively to Hizb'allah and the hostage crisis. The greatest difficulty lay in determining the exact location of the hostages. This was rendered almost impossible by the fact that the terrorists continually moved the hostages between safe houses. Exacerbating the situation was the strategy used by the terrorists to conceal themselves by dispersing among the civilian population and using the hostages as a shield against military reprisal. This made the implementation of any rescue mission difficult. The reality was that the hostages would have had to be rescued before any retaliation could be carried out. It is also doubtful whether the administration would have responded any differently to the crisis even if they were in possession of better intelligence.

Apart from policy and intelligence problems, the military were led by a reluctant Secretary of Defence and a generation of officers whose confidence had been undermined by their failures in Vietnam[163] and the Iranian rescue mission. In this instance, the crisis management principle of limiting the means to achieve one's objectives was a principle that the administration had no alternative but to follow under the circumstances.[164] For the duration of its experiences against Hizb'allah in Lebanon, the government found itself having to exercise almost total restraint in applying military instruments against its adversary. While Hizb'allah and Amal were militarily inferior to the U.S., they nevertheless became an

---

[163] According to Noel Koch, during a **telephone interview**, with the author on February 21, 1995, the legacy of the CIA's involvement in Vietnam and the negative publicity surrounding the excesses committed by South Vietnamese agents during Operation Phoenix, contributed towards a reluctance on the part of CIA officers to embark upon counter-terrorist operations.

[164] For an overview of the U.S. attempt to rescue the Iranian hostages see Lt. Col. Charles Beckwith and Donald Knox, Delta Force, (New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1983) and Martin and Walcott, (1988), op.cit:. Ch.1 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:. Ch.15-16

insurmountable security problem which exposed the intractability of the Reagan Administration.

The consequences of applying military instruments of statecraft against Hizb'allah had already been demonstrated when the U.S. navy bombarded Syrian and Hizb'allah militia positions in the Suq al Gharb in 1983.[165] Similarly, the French air-strikes against the Sheikh Abdullah Barracks in the Bekaa valley on November 17, 1983, following the attacks against the French and U.S. barracks, had failed to modify Hizb'allah's behaviour.[166] On the contrary, military retaliation against Hizb'allah had demonstrated that it only served to galvanise support and encourage more recruits for its cause.[167] Instead of intimidating Hizb'allah, reprisals only served to escalate the threshold of violence that Hizb'allah applied to its enemies.[168]

Where the U.S. attempted to retaliate using force, however, it remained unsuccessful with its initiatives resulting in negative consequences. As soon as Hizb'allah kidnapped their first U.S. hostage, the risk of applying military force as a means of retaliation against Hizb'allah increased. That organisation's operational secrecy, its decentralised chain of command and its strategy of deploying its operatives among the civilian population of Beirut, similar to the strategy of the PLO, all enhanced their safeguard against American reprisals. By expanding their strategy of hostage taking to include

---

[165] See Admiral James D Watkins, "Countering Terrorism: A New Challenge to our National Conscience," Sea Power, (November 1984), p.37 and William E Smith, "Helping to Hold the Line," Time, October 3, 1983 and Brett A McCrea, "U.S. Counter- Terrorist Policy: A Proposed Strategy for a Non-traditional Threat," Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement, Vol.2, No.3, (Winter 1994), pp.502-503

[166] See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.139 and Annie Laurent and Antione Basbous, Guerres' Secretes au Liban, (Paris, Gallimard, 1982) and Pierre Marion, La Mission Impossible, (Paris, Calmann-Levy, 1991), p.233

[167] For statements by Hizb'allah with regard to martyrs and how acts of violence against the organisation and its members strengthens their cause, see the Independent, October 8, 1991 and the Times, February 2, 1984

[168] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.270 and Times, February 2, 1984 and the comments by Sheikh Abbas al Musawi who warned that, "...America should think very carefully before carrying out any foolish actions against Hizb'allah," Independent, August 3, 1989

citizens of France, the United Kingdom, West Germany and Israeli soldiers, Hizb'allah rendered these states hostages to one another by making the safety of the hostages of each country vulnerable to any act of reprisal by the other states.[169] Their vulnerability was demonstrated in 1986 when after the U.S. raid against Tripoli, Abu Nidal acting on Qadaffi's behalf, purchased and executed the American hostage, Peter Kilburn, and British hostages, Philip Padfield and Leigh Douglas.[170]

In 1985 the dangers of counter-terrorist initiatives became all too apparent after Casey was suspected of requesting the assistance of Saudi Arabia in carrying out the assassination of Sheikh Fadlallah the spiritual leader of Hizb'allah.[171] The attack caused the death of 80 innocent civilians but failed to kill Fadlallah. This resulted in an international outcry and bad publicity for the U.S. despite its denials of complicity in the failed attack.[172]

4.7 The principle of preventing precedents

While the attempt on Fadlallah's life raised domestic concerns that the CIA may have been involved in an assassination operation, German, French and British fears centred around the safety of their citizens who were being held hostage.[173] Limited by the precedents

---

[169] See the International Herald Tribune, September 22, 1984, the Washington Post, February 5, 1987 and Newsweek, February 9, 1987

[170] See Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.284-287

[171] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.182-187

[172] See the Guardian, March 8, 1985 and the International Herald Tribune, May 17, 1985 and Joseph E Persico, (1990), op.cit:, pp.430, 435-6 and 441-443. Sheikh Fadlallah the spiritual leader of Hizb'allah was reported to have blessed the suicide drivers of the van which exploded outside the U.S. embassy annex in 1984. See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.133 and 220. The details of the attempt on Fadlallah's life and the alleged U.S. complicity are described in the following chapter.

[173] For an overview of the assassination attempt against Sheikh Fadlallah, see Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.182-187 and Bob Woodward, (1988), op.cit:, pp.386-398

that it had created for itself when President Reagan announced the administration's predilection against making concessions to terrorists and in its options in applying military coercion against Hizb'allah, the administration resorted to diplomacy, economic and legal instruments.[174] Whereas the U.S. were able to apply diplomatic pressure against Syria with limited success,[175] the absence of formal diplomatic ties with Iran did not allow for this strategy and economic sanctions were applied against the latter instead.[176] However, in terms of its global strategic interests the U.S. could not afford to allow the antagonistic relationship between itself and Iran to continue.[177]

The application of diplomatic isolation as an instrument of coercive diplomacy, however, detracts from the crisis management principle of establishing communication with the adversary.[178] Ever since the occupation of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, diplomatic links between the two nations had been severed which made communication with Iran during this hostage crisis difficult. Efforts to negotiate directly with the Iranians over this issue had not borne too much fruit either. In its efforts to apply diplomatic pressure on elements within Iran's clerical factions for the purpose of influencing Hizb'allah to modify its behaviour, the U.S. was dependent upon intermediaries and third parties, who all had their own agendas. This difficulty and Iran's intractability was demonstrated on December 3, 1984 when Hizb'allah operatives hijacked a Kuwaiti airliner and flew

---

[174] For an overview of U.S. restrictions in dealing with terrorism, see Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:. pp.203-20. See also Gail Bass, Brian M Jenkins, Konrad Kellen and David Ronfeldt, (eds.), Options for U.S. Policy on Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report R-2764-RC, July 1981) and Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.277

[175] See Paul Lewis, "Syria, Isolated at UN, Drops Terrorism Plan," New York Times, December 2, 1987

[176] See Henry Bienen and Robert Gilpin, "Economic Sanctions as a Response to Terrorism," Journal of Strategic Studies, Vol.3, No.1, (May 1980), pp.89-98 and the Independent, December 3, 1987 and August 30, 1989

[177] For an overview of the strategic importance of Iran to the U.S. see Geoffrey Kemp, (1994), op.cit:, p.5

[178] See William B Quandt, Time, October 1, 1984, p.23

to Teheran.[179] During that incident, two American passengers were killed.[180] Iran ensured that there was extensive media coverage. This was not very helpful during the incident and the U.S. had to rely upon British and Swiss intermediaries to secure their objectives.[181]

The strategy of coercive diplomacy is rooted in the objective of persuading an adversary to cease its provocative or aggressive behaviour through the threat of punitive measures rather than the application of overwhelming force.[182] During crises, the management team rely upon their ability to demonstrate their resolve and determination to utilise force if required. The advantage in utilising coercive diplomacy lies in the possibility of achieving the objective with the least amount of force.[183] While this approach may contribute towards the prevention of an unwarranted escalation of force, it nevertheless constitutes the inherent dialectical tension between diplomatic and military logic.[184] The issue at stake here was to exercise the necessary degree of coercion against Hizb'allah, short of applying military force, while concurrently demonstrating to that organisation that their actions would not go unpunished. This was the problem that beleaguered the Reagan Administration as Caspar Weinberger refused to support the diplomatic posturing of the Department of State, George Schultz and President Reagan, who

---

[179] David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.208

[180] See Terence Smith, U.S. Links Iranian-Backed Group to Hijacking of Kuwaiti Airliner," New York Times, December 7, 1984, P.A1 and John S Lang, "Frustrating Search For Answers," U.S. News & World Report, December 24, 1984, pp.18-19

[181] See cover article, Time, December 17, 1984, p.25 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.208

[182] See Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, p.384 and Paul Gordon Lauren, "Ultimata and Coercive Diplomacy," International Studies Quarterly, No.16,(1972), pp.131-165

[183] See Raymond Cohen, Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling, (London, Longman, 1987)

[184] For an explanation of the tension between military logic and the requirements of diplomacy in crisis management, see Alexander George, (1991), op.cit:, pp.13-21 and Alexander George, D. K. Hall and W Simons, (eds.), The Limits of Coercive Diplomacy, (Boston, Little Brown, 1971), and Alexander George, "Crisis Management: The Interaction of Political and Military Considerations," Survival, Vol.26, No.5, (September 1984), pp.223-234

repeatedly issued threats against the perpetrators of terrorism in Beirut.[185] The integrity of the administration's coercive diplomacy was thus undermined by a recalcitrant Secretary of Defence.

Weinberger was determined not to allow the military to become involved in a conflict situation without the approval and support of the public and Congress.[186] While he attempted to support his argument on the grounds that it was morally wrong to attack terrorist targets which may result in collateral damage to innocent civilians, it inadvertently created a precedent that would undermine any future U.S. counter-terrorist and crisis initiatives by setting restrictive rules of engagement for military operations. In order for the administration to invoke the use of military instruments of statecraft, the government would have had to provide irrefutable proof as to the legitimacy of its targets.[187] While this principle is laudable from a moral point of view and supports the concept of legitimacy, it undercuts the requirements of operational secrecy for intelligence.

The producer - consumer relationship and the function of intelligence in counter terrorism is thus directly influenced by the principles of legitimacy, legality and the avoidance of setting precedents. Whereas the terrorist organisation bases its attacks against the interests of the government on ideological grounds, the strength of the authorities response is usually directed by the right of law, as most terrorist actions contravene criminal codes.[188] Government response must reflect adherence to the laws of criminal procedure and evidence, which are precedents in themselves.[189] In

---

[185] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.210-211 and 222-227

[186] See Caspar Weinberger, (1991), op.cit:, pp.160-162

[187] See Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.177 and Ronald Reagan, (1990), op.cit:, pp.463-464

[188] See Alex P Schmidt, "Terrorism as the 'Peacetime Equivalent of War Crimes'," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, (Winter 1992): Special Issue on Western Responses to Terrorism, p.11-13 and Franklin L Ford, Political Murder: From Tyrannicide to Terrorism, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1985)

[189] See Richard Clutterbuck, Terrorism in an Unstable World, (London, Routledge, 1994), p.14 and John E Finn, Constitutions in Crisis: Political Violence and the Rule of Law,

support thereof, the relationship between the intelligence community and the consumer is two-fold. While the government will look to the intelligence and security services to provide proof of culpability of those who stand accused of acts of terrorism, it also tasks the intelligence community with providing warnings of impending attacks and strategic options in dealing with terrorism as a phenomenon that is a threat to its interests and society.[190] From a normative perspective, the resultant strategies presented to the consumer in the intelligence community's opportunity analysis must reflect deference to the principles of legitimacy and precedent. It must be remembered that it is the struggle for legitimacy which lies at the core of terrorist rationality.

4.8 Conclusion

Ultimately between 1983 and 1984, there was no improvement in U.S. intelligence capabilities. To the contrary, the kidnapping of William Buckley led to the further compromise of U.S. intelligence assets in Lebanon. The absence of communication between the executive and support branches of government reinforced the traditionalist mentality.[191] In the case of Lebanon, the obsessive need to protect intelligence sources inhibited the fusion of intelligence and its dissemination to units in the field, such as embassy security personnel. Instead, much of the vital intelligence was being communicated directly up the chain of command to policy makers. Intelligence was conducted in support of the preconceived non

---

(New York, Oxford University Press, 1991) and Ronald D Crelinsten, Danielle Laberge-Altmejd and Denis Szabo, Terrorism and Criminal Justice, (Lexington, Massachusetts, Lexington Books, 1978)

[190] Robert Grace, **interview** on July 13, 1995 with the author at FBI Academy, Quantico Bay.

[191] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.217-227

negotiation and no concessions policy towards terrorism. This compelled the administration to focus on forces that were located on the periphery of the problem instead of on the main perpetrators and their principal adversary, Hizb'allah. In this instance the principle of legitimacy was misinterpreted and too rigidly applied.

The result was that the quest for legitimacy became the lynch-pin of the administration's counter-terrorist policy, constraining crisis response initiatives, instead of guiding them. Arguments between the two principle cabinet secretaries over how to respond to terrorism without compromising on these principles, exposed the deep divisions that prevailed between the Secretaries of State and Defence. This demonstrated the government's vulnerability to terrorism and hostage taking.[192] During crises, it is the perceived will to use force that forms the key variable in crisis management.[193] The Reagan Administration not only failed in its ability to demonstrate its resolve and determination to wield force as an instrument of statecraft, but advertised this shortcoming to its adversaries. Hizb'allah seized upon this vulnerability and exploited it to their advantage. Not only did the U.S. crisis response create a dilemma for the administration, but the presence of the other western hostages in Beirut effectively prevented the use of military force by the United States. Retaliation could have endangered the lives of not only the Americans who were held hostage, but the other European nationals as well.[194] Intelligence not only failed at an intellectual and conceptual level, but it also failed at the implementation stage within the lower echelons of the U.S. government. This breakdown in the producer - consumer relationship was demonstrated by the failure of the embassy security personnel to respond adequately to and ensure

---

[192] See Brian M Jenkins and Robin Wright, "The Kidnappers in Lebanon," TVI Report, Vol.7, No.4

[193] See Robert L Pfaltzgraff, Jr., (1987), op.cit:, p.29

[194] See Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.

that the necessary precautions against further terrorist attacks were implemented.[195] In the case of the second embassy bombing, a mitigating factor prevailed. This was the distraction of warning intelligence caused by the "cry wolf" syndrome which detracted the Embassy security personnel from appreciating the value of the intelligence warnings that were issued before the incident itself. It is a fact that prior to the embassy annex bombing, the intelligence community had issued numerous warnings of an imminent car bomb attack against U.S. interests and personnel in Beirut. Repeated warnings had contributed towards desensitising its recipients. The numerous cases in history of surprise attack, in particular the case of Pearl Harbour, testify to this phenomenon.[196] This problem was exacerbated by the fact that the intelligence warnings were not detailed or specific enough to be of much use. A subsequent congressional hearing concluded that although the intelligence community had performed adequately, the embassy security personnel were at fault.[197] Finally, an evaluation of the performance of the intelligence community during the crisis reveals that a dysfunction between intelligence and policy occurred because both were carried out in secret and in opposition to Congress.[198] The very fact that it was conducted in a covert manner, resulted in the exclusion of the broader intelligence community and objective expertise from the decision making process. This created an effective barrier between the producers and consumers. While the administration chose to respond to the hostage crisis during 1984 in

---

[195] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:. p.172

[196] See Roberta Wohlstetter, Pearl Harbour: Warning and Decision, (Stanford University Press, 1962) and Gordon Prange, At Dawn We Slept, (New York, McGraw Hill, 1981) and for additional insight into the problems of intelligence warnings and strategic surprise, see Ariel Levite, Intelligence and Strategic Surprise, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1987).

[197] U.S. Intelligence Performance and the September 20, 1984 Beirut Bombing, Report by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, House of Representatives, (Washington D.C., U.S. Govt. Printing Office, October 3, 1984), pp.3-4 and John Kifner, "Flaws Seen at West Beirut Embassy," New York Times, September 25, 1984.

[198] See Robert Ruhl Simmons, (Spring 1990), op.cit:. p.4

a low-key and covert manner, it was eventually forced to deal with another hostage crisis openly and in full view of the international community during the hijacking of Flight TWA 847,[199] which introduced another key variable in the management of crisis situations, which is the management of the media.

[199] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus (1988), op.cit:, pp.411-412 footnote No.107. Six months before the TWA crisis, a tally of the news reports pertaining to the hostages that appeared in the New York Times revealed a total of 8 reports. During the TWA crisis and the week thereafter, there were a total of 191. In the three months after the crisis, this paper showed an increase in its reporting of the fate of the hostages in Beirut with a total of 34 reports. This pattern suggests that the media were not really aware of hostage crisis in 1984

Chapter 5

THE HIJACKING OF TWA FLIGHT 847: CRISIS MANAGEMENT, INTELLIGENCE AND THE MEDIA

> It was late afternoon in Beirut by the time that the Red Cross convoy pulled out of the schoolyard and headed for Damascus and freedom. Howard Teicher watched as CNN broadcast the pictures of the convoy pulling out of the schoolyard while the intelligence community continued to report that it could not confirm the hostages' departure[1]

This case study will research the role of intelligence and the influence of the media during the hijacking of TWA Flight 847. By analysing the competing objectives of the key actors involved, the crisis response options that were available to the administration will be examined. This will be followed by an analysis of the intelligence community's role during the crisis, and the relationship that prevailed between the intelligence community, the decision makers, the NSC staff and the media. This incident is highly significant as it further exposes the Reagan Administration's sustained inability to deal effectively with terrorism.[2] It also reveals the tension between intelligence and the media as well as the difficulties experienced by crisis managers when the media becomes part of the crisis instead of part of its solution.

In relation to the previous two case studies, this incident differs in the following sense: The hijacking reflected a switch in tactics by Hizb'allah from attacking U.S. interests in Lebanon to attacking U.S. targets abroad[3]. Furthermore the nature and duration of the hijacking

---

[1] John Martin and David Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.201

[2] See William L Chaze, (ed.) "Reagan's Hostage Crisis," U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, pp.18-21

[3] See Jeffrey D Simon, U.S. Countermeasures Against International Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, The Rand Corporation, National Defense Research Institute, [R-3840-C3I], 1990), Summary, pp.v-vii

presented the U.S. government, media and public with an incident of lengthy duration in comparison to the previous bombing of U.S. facilities in Beirut. Bombing incidents are events that have a short and sharp impact upon their audience.[4] The crisis lasts for as long as death, injury and damage are portrayed by the media. Once the carnage is cleared and repaired the story ends and the sensationalism dies down relatively quickly after the event, whereas a protracted hostage-barricade situation sustains media and public interest over a longer time.[5] In relation to the kidnapping of William Buckley and the other six American citizens in Beirut during 1984, the TWA crisis was also different. This was because those events occurred over a staggered time. They involved the fate of one individual over a prolonged and seemingly endless period of time as opposed to the collective fate of a larger number of people within a concentrated time frame. The crisis differs substantially from the previous events because of the media's extensive involvement. This introduced an additional dimension to the problem. Furthermore the behaviour of the NSC, and its crisis management elements, i.e. the NSC staff and the Crisis Pre Planning Group, can be studied to determine how the institutional behaviour and barriers affected the producer - consumer relationship.

5.1 Introduction

On Friday, June 14, 1985, TWA Flight 847 bound for Rome was hijacked by two Hizb'allah terrorists shortly after take off from Athens. At first the hijackers demanded that the aircraft be flown to Algeria,

[4] For a description of how the government and public over-reacted to the Beirut bombings, see Bruce Hoffman, Recent Trends and Future Prospects of Iranian Sponsored International Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, The Rand Corporation, National Defense Research Institute, [R-3783-USDP], March 1990), pp.11-12

[5] According to Walter Laqueur, "The terrorist act by itself is nothing; publicity is all." See Yonah Alexander, "Terrorism, the Media and the Police," in Robert Kupperman and Darrell Trent, Terrorism, Threat, Reality, Response, (Stanford, California, Hoover Institute Press, 1979), p.332

but had to modify their demand when the pilot pointed out to them that there was insufficient fuel. The hijackers therefore changed their destination and went to Beirut airport. Upon their arrival they released 19 women and children passengers in exchange for more fuel.[6] The plane then took off again, this time for Algiers. The Algerians had gained international recognition for their diplomatic skills and their past involvement in mediating between Iran and the U.S. over the release of the hostages during 1979-1981.[7] Perhaps of greater significance why the hijackers first intended to fly to Algeria was because the Algerians were not party to the Bonn Convention - a multi-lateral anti-hijacking agreement. This would have made escape a greater possibility for the hijackers.[8] Secondly, in the wake of the hostage taking in Beirut, there was no longer a large press corps left in Lebanon to provide the media coverage that the hijackers sought.[9] The terrorists waited until they had landed in Algiers before issuing their first set of demands.[10]

Initially they sought to exchange the passengers and crew for the release of over seven hundred Lebanese Shi'ite prisoners of war whom the Israelis had captured in southern Lebanon and who were being held in Atlit prison in Israel.[11] The Hizb'allah operatives, led by Mohammad Ali Hamadei, demanded the release of the al Da'wa 17 prisoners held in Kuwait as well as the Atlit prisoners.[12] They

---

[6] See Robert Fisk, "Lebanese gunmen shoot passenger on hijacked plane," Times, June 15, 1985, p.1 and Washington Post, June 30, 1985

[7] See Christos C Anastassiades, "U.S. and Israel Face Embarrassing Situation," An-Nahar Arab Report & Memo, June 28, 1985 and Nora Boustany, "Hijackers Hold Americans on TWA Jet," Washington Post, June 15, 1985, p.1

[8] For a list of the member states who signed the Bonn Convention on July 17, 1978 and its clauses, see John F Murphy, State Support of International Terrorism: Legal, Political & Economic Dimensions, (Boulder, CA, Westview Press, 1989), p.70

[9] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, p.606

[10] See William E Smith, "Hijack," Time Magazine, June 24, 1985, pp.24-30

[11] The Israeli captives were incarcerated in Atlit prison in northern Israel and bacame known and refered to as the 'Atlit prisoners.'See Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, pp.187-189

[12] The operation was led by Hamadei and was planned by Immad Mughniah, whose

threatened to begin shooting hostages if the U.S. and Israeli governments refused their demands. A further 21 women and children were then released in exchange for fuel and food.[13] The aircraft spent a total of six hours on the ground in Algiers before the hijackers forced the pilot to return to Beirut.

Within the first day of the crisis, the terrorists had manoeuvred themselves into a strong bargaining position.[14] They seized and held onto the initiative by creating a crisis situation for the U.S. and Israel and secured a strong bargaining position in the form of their possession of the hostages. They then sought to establish legitimacy for their actions. First they selected a respectable intermediary in the form of Algeria. Then by releasing the women and children, they demonstrating their flexibility and reasonableness which improved their credibility. By linking the release of the remaining hostages to the Atlit prisoners in Israel they attempted to cast Israel as the villian.[15] The detention of the Atlit prisoners was considered illegal in terms of international law and had been criticised in the United Nations and by the United States. By focusing the crisis on Israel's detention of the Atlit prisoners they sought to drive a wedge between the two allies.[16] In shifting the location of their action from Beirut to

---

brother-in-law was one of the al Da'wa 17 prisoners. See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, p.605. See also Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.196-197. And Nigel Hawkes and Tony Catterall, "Europe Faces Split on Deals With Terrorists," (Publication unknown), February 1, 1987. Muhammed Ali Hamadei is the younger brother of the chief of security of Hizb'allah, Abdelhadi Hamadei. See Farhang Johanpour, "The Roots of the Hostage Crisis," The World Today, February 1992, p.34

[13] See "Journey of Flight TWA 847: A Logbook of Terror," New York Times, June 17, 1985 and "Hijackers Free 64, Set New Deadline," Los Angeles Times, June 16, 1985

[14] See Rodney A Snyder, Negotiating With Terrorists: TWA Flight 847, (Washington D.C., Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Dilpomacy, School of Foreign Service, Pew Case Studies in International Affairs, Case 333, 1994), p.4

[15] The release of women and children by the hijackers was not a major concession on their part, however, as Islamic law prevents them from harming women and children.

[16] See Dan Fischer, "Hijack Crisis Straining U.S.- Israeli Relations," Los Angeles Times, June 19, 1985 in which it is reported that, "...the Red Cross protested the cross-border transfer [of the Atlit prisoners] at the time, stating that it violated Articles 49 and 76 of the Geneva Conventions which prohibit the forcible transfer of civilians from their own country to the territory of an occupying power. The State Department also objected. See also "U.N. Says Israelis Took More Shi'ites," New York Times, June 19, 1985

Algiers, the terrorists sought to place the focus of the crisis on Israel's illegal custody of the Atlit prisoners instead of on the actual terrorist act of the hijacking. They attempted to divert the issue of legitimacy from their actions to the behaviour and response of the Israeli and U.S. governments. Having conducted this against the backdrop of Beirut as a potential venue for the crisis to be resolved, they effectively demonstrated to the U.S. that the situation could develop beyond their control or response.[17] Ultimately the hijackers had succeeded in seizing and holding onto the initiative, while the Reagan Administration found itself confronted by a crisis that not only threatened its counter terrorist principles but also its relationship with two of its most important allies in the region, namely Israel and Kuwait as they struggled to resolve the crisis without making concessions to terrorists. The U.S. government found itself compelled to consider the objectives of its allies besides its own and was put to the test in exercising restraint in the pursuit of its objectives to prevent an escalation of the crisis.[18]

The hijackers flew back to Algiers where they were joined by the third member of the team, Ali Atweh, who after having been detained by the Greek authorities, was released and flown to Algiers to join his comrades.[19] The aircraft then returned to Beirut where all but three of the aircraft's crew were taken from the plane and held in safe houses scattered throughout Beirut to frustrate any rescue attempts.[20] The hijackers who, were then reinforced by members of Amal, appointed that organisation's leader, Nabih Berri, who was also the Lebanese Minister of Justice, as their representative to negotiate on their

---

[17] Howard Teicher, during a **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[18] As the champion of democracy, the administration found that in responding to terrorism, the tenents of democracy acted as restraints. Noel Koch, the Pentagon's counter terrorist planner described this dilemma when he stated that, "Our virtues are our vulnerabilities." See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, p.92

[19] See William Smith, "Hijack", Time, June 24, 1985, pp.24-30

[20] See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.191

behalf.[21] Berri, who wasted no time in increasing the demands to include the release of Shi'ite prisoners in Cyprus and Spain[22]. It also ordered the passengers and remaining taken from the aircraft and moved to safe houses around Beirut.[23] The crisis continued over a period of nineteen days as the U.S. government attempted to maintain the appearance that it was not making any concessions to the hijackers while conducting intensive negotiations with Israel and Syria.[24] During this time, both sides maintained inflexible stances in the eyes of the public. The U.S. government demonstrated its resolve by deploying U.S. warships off the coast of Lebanon and increased its rhetoric over possible retaliation against the hijackers.[25] The hijackers capitalised on the media's scramble to cover the crisis and staged an anti-American demonstration at the airport[26] as well as a media-hostage conference in Beirut.[27] The hijackers successful

[21] At first, the hijackers were prevented from landing at Beirut airport by Nabih Berri's militia, Amal, who controlled the airport. Only after they threatened to blow up the plane over Beirut, were they granted permission by Amal to land. It is not clear why and at what stage Amal decided to co-operate with Hizb'allah. One reason may be attributed to the possibility that Berri saw the hijacking as an opportunity for him to increase the prestige of Amal in Lebanon. See Con Coughlin, Hostage, (London, Little Brown & Company, 1992), p.197 and Robert Fisk, "Muslim King Stands To Gain Twin Crowns From Hijack Negotiations," Times, June 19, 1985, p.7 and Jim Muir, "Berri's Uncomfortable Role," Middle East International, June 28, 1985, pp.3-4

[22] See Elaine Sciolino, "Go-Between in the Beirut Hostage Crisis: Nabih Berri," New York Times, June 18, 1985 and Richard Wigg, Times, June 18, 1985, p.6

[23] See Norman Kempster, "Hostages Spirited Off Jet, Berri Says," Los Angeles Times, June 18, 1985

[24] See Nicolas Ashford, "U.S. Seeking Formula for Exchange of Hostages," Times, June 20, 1985 and Robert Fisk, "Israel to release 31 Shia Prisoners," the Times, June 24, 1985 and Mary Curtuis, "Berri Under Pressure, U.S. its Allies - and Perhaps Syria - Lean on Shi'ite Leaders to End Hostage Crisis," Christian Science Monitor, July 1, 1985, and Jonathan Randall, "Syrian efforts to Free Hostages Said to Intensify," Washington Post, June 26, 1985, p.15 and Karen De Young and William Drozdiak, "Intense Diplomacy, Syrian Weight End Crisis," Washington Post, July 1, 1985. See also Margaret Berry, Bargaining Without Concessions: The 1985 TWA Hostage Negotiations, (Washington D.C., Conflict Management Program, 1985)

[25] See Nicholas Ashford and Michael Binyon, "Reagan Refuses to Bow to Terror," Times, June 19, 1985, and Christopher Dickey, "Multiple Pressures Build on Amal in Beirut," Washington Post, June 26, 1985, p.1 and Fred Axelgard, "Reagan Stands Firm," Middle East International, June 28, 1985, pp.4-5 and A Ulansky, "Looking at the TWA Hijack," New York Times, July 28, 1985, pp.10-11

[26] See Nora Boustany, "Anti-U.S.Protest," Washington Post, June 22, 1985 and Fred Barnes, "Shi'ite Spin Control," New Republic, Vol.193, No.10, July 15, 1985

[27] For the reaction to the staged hostage-media conference see David Martin and John

manipulation of the media resulted in controversy back in the United States over the role of the media during terrorist situations and the influence of the media on the administration during crises.[28] After a protracted period of time, and only after the U.S. had guaranteed a commitment by Israel to systematically release the Atlit prisoners, once the hostages had been freed, Syria and Iran applied pressure on Amal and Hizb'allah to conclude the crisis. The incident was not without complications, however, and the bellicose attitude of the Reagan Administration almost prolonged the crisis in the end.[29] During the crisis the administration made consistent statements about possible retaliation against the hijackers. This created anxiety on the part of the hijackers and resulted in Nabih Berri demanding a guarantee from the U.S. that it would not retaliate against them after the hostages had been released.[30] In the end the U.S. lost its credibility once again as a force that was capable of reponding to terrorism.

Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.191 and Robert Fisk, "Beirut Hostages Produced at Chaotic Press Conference," Times, June 21, 1985 and Claudia Wright, "The Hijack and the Media," Middle East International, June 28, 1985 and Tom Shales, "The Drama behind ABC's Coup," Washington Post, June 20, 1985 and John Dillin,"News Media Coverage of Hostage Story Raises Glaring Questions," Christian Science Monitor, July 2, 1985

[28] See Joseph Fromm, "TV Does it Box in President in Crisis?" U.S. News & World Report, July 15, 1985, pp.23-24 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.189

[29] See Bill Keller, "Warships Set Sail: U.S. Seeks To End Speculation It Will Act," New York Times, June 18, 1985. See the following two articles by David Hoffman, "U.S. Has Reached Its Limits On Terrorism, Reagan Says," Washington Post, June 21, 1985, p.1, and "U.S. may Strike back, Reagan Hints," Washington Post, June 29, 1985, p.1. See also Christopher Dickey, "Don't Flex Muscle, Shi'ite Says," Washington Post, June 23, 1985.

[30] See Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, p.335 and Christopher Dickey, "Berri Demands U.S. Disavow Retaliation," Washington Post, June 30, 1985, p.1 For a detailed account of the crisis, see David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, Chapter 7 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, Chapter 24.

5.2. The principle of limiting objectives

The crisis was a direct challenge to America's counter-terrorist policy. Under the circumstances the Reagan Administration, who had publicly advocated the virtues of not giving in to terrorism and had linked this principle with the threat to retaliate with force against it, found that it was unable to resolve the problem without compromising over these principles. The use of force either as a means to rescue the hostages or in retaliation against Hizb'allah had also effectively been ruled out.[31] This was not only due to the concern over the safety of the TWA hostages, but as a result of the six U.S. citizens who had been kidnapped between 1984 and June 1985 in Lebanon and who were still being held in captivity.[32] Any military reprisal could have endangered the lives of all the hostages, including those hostages who were citizens of other western nations. Therefore the political and security risks associated with retaliation by the U.S. could have had far reaching consequences.[33] Notwithstanding the above argument the debate over the administration's disposition to respond with military force was conducted at length in the media which exposed the cleavage between the State Department and the Secretary of Defence in public.[34] The administration defended its

---

[31] See George Church, "The Dilemma of Retaliation," Time, June 24, 1985, p.31, and Gary Sick, "When U.S. Hostages Are in Peril, Willpower Counts As Much As Firepower, Says Crisis Expert Gary Sick," People Weekly, July 1, 1985, pp.55-56 and Nicolas M Horrock, "Too Late To Retaliate For Hijack, Experts Say," Chicago Tribune, July 10, 1985

[32] For a chronology and the identity of these hostages, see Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, Appendix I, pp.546-466. Although everyone was still referring to the seven hostages, the fact of the matter was that there were only six left alive as William Buckley had already died in captivity in March 1985.

[33] Geoffrey Kemp, during an **interview**, with the author on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C.

[34] For an example of this argument from a liberal perspective see: Editorial, "Unfinished Business," New Republic, July 29, 1985. For an overview of he argument from the conservative point of view see: George F Will, "With a 'Genteel' Touch," Washington Post, July 2, 1985. See also Robert Kuppermann, "Should U.S. Strike Back at Terrorists?" in an interview with U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, p.22 and George Church, "The Dilemma of Retaliation," Time, June 24, 1985, p.31 and John M Oseth, "Combatting Terrorism: The Dilemmas Of A Decent Nation," Parameters, Vol.XV, No.1, (1984), pp.65-76

inaction during the crisis when President Reagan explained that retaliation, which could result in the death of innocent people, would reduce the American government to the same level as that of the terrorists.[35] This aspect is discussed in greater detail further on in this chapter.

Compounding the crisis was the growing public awareness and concern over the fate of the six Beirut hostages.[36] This was a problem that the administration had successfully managed to suppress until the TWA crisis flushed that issue out into the open.[37] The American public were more concerned with the fate of the TWA hostages, rather than the fate of the six U.S. citizens who were a mixture of journalists, officials and academics. However, the crisis created a platform for the family members of these original hostages to petition the administration to exert a greater effort on their behalf.[38] This additional problem induced the administration to try and link the release of the TWA passengers to the release of the Beirut hostages.[39] President Reagan's attempts to include the Beirut hostages in the TWA hostage deal were too ambitious. This resulted in the administration expanding its crisis objectives which

---

[35] See News Conference of June 8, 1985, Public Papers of the President of the United States, Ronald Reagan, 1983-1986, p.784

[36] The hostages were: Frank Reiger, a professor at the American University in Beirut - kidnapped in February 1984 and released in April 1984; Jeremy Levin, CNN Bureau Chief - kidnapped in March 1984 and who escaped in February 1985; William Buckley, CIA Chief of Station - kidnapped in March 1984; Benjamin Weir, American Presbyterian Minister - kidnapped in May 1984; Peter Kilburn, Librarian at the AUB - kidnapped in December 1984 and Terry Anderson, Associated Press Bureau Chief - kidnapped in March 1985 and David Jacobson, Director of American University Hospital - kidnapped in May 1985. See Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.464-465 and "The Other American Hostages - What About Them?" U.S. News & World Report, July 8, 1985, p.26

[37] See Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Says 7 Missing Must Also Go Free With Air Hostages," New York Times, June 28, 1985.

[38] See M C Johns, "The Reagan Administration and State-Sponsored Terrorism," Conflict, Vol.8, No.4, 1988, p.249 and Marvin Howe, "Kin Of Hostages' See a Chance To Increase Efforts for Their Cause," New York Times, June 22, 1985, p.6. See also Stansfield Turner, "A Media Hijacking," in S Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.194 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.197

[39] See Doyle McManus, "Wants 7 Beirut Kidnap Victims Released Also," Los Angeles Times, June 28, 1985 and Charles P Wallace, "U.S. Seeks Return of Earlier Captives," Los Angeles Times, June 28, 1985

contradicted the principle of limiting one's objectives during a crisis. Consequently it elevated the tension level between the hijackers - Hizb'allah and Amal and the American government.

Faced with these problems, the administration's crisis objectives were aimed at securing the release of the hostages without having to use force and compromising its stated position. The latter included avoiding the perception that it had made any direct concessions to the hijackers. The crisis thus forced the Reagan Administration to balance conflicting objectives and to avoid the perception that it was forced to compromise. This was highly significant given the administration's rhetoric which advocated a tough stance against terrorism. The Reagan administration had also criticised the Carter administration's weakness and indecision in relation to the Iranian hostage crisis, and exploited it as an election issue during its presdential campaign.[40] American policy on negotiations with terrorists has oscillated between compromise and a strict no-concessions policy.[41] Jenkins argues that U.S. government response and policy has not exerted any meaningful influence over terrorist incidents.[42]

A policy of not making concessions to terrorists was strongly advocated during the Nixon administration when he announced that the U.S. would not negotiate over the kidnapping of U.S. diplomats by Black September in Khartoum.[43] President Nixon defended this policy

---

[40] See Stansfield Turner, "The Changing of the Guard," in S Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.155-160 and Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, p.196, and Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.92-93

[41] See Brian M Jenkins, Konrad Kellen and David Ronfeldt, Options for U.S. Policy on Terrorism, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report R-2764-RC, July 1981), pp.4-5

[42] See Brian M Jenkins, Janera Johnson and David Ronfeldt, Numbered Lives: Some Statistical Observations From 77 International Hostage Episodes, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Report P-5905, July 1977), p.32

[43] In 1973, the Black September Organisation seized a number of American diplomats in an operation against the Saudi Arabian Embassy in Khartoum. Among their demands, was the release of Sirhan Sirhan the assassin of Robert Kennedy. The U.S. response was a refusal to negotiate or make any concession to terrorists.See Brian Jenkins, Embassies Under Siege: A Review of 48 Embassy Takeovers, 1971-1980, (Santa Monica, California, Rand Corporation, January 1981), op.cit:, pp.10 & 28. See also Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.109

policy on the basis that it would endanger the lives of all other diplomats if the government met the terrorists' demands.[44] According to Jenkins, this incident, in which the U.S. hostages were killed, became the cornerstone of subsequent U.S. official policy on terrorism.[45] This premise also formed the basis of a number of international treaties signed by over 120 countries, including Greece, who agreed to refuse to make concessions to terrorists.[46] Of greater significance, however, was the relationship that prevailed between the U.S. and Israel and the the fact that the crisis created a strain in that relationship.[47] Israel's counter-terrorist policy was well known. Whereas they have generally always been known to retaliate, Israel has admitted that it will at least negotiate with terrorists.[48] From the political perspective neither the U.S. nor Israel could afford to make any exceptions. In this instance, however, the Israeli government was also in an untenable position. Not only was the demand contrary to their policy on terrorism, but the government had recently come under severe criticism for having exchanged 1000 Palestinian prisoners for 3 Israeli soldiers captured during the civil war in Lebanon.[49] The controversy over that exchange had threatened the coalition government.[50] The demands emanating from the TWA

---

[44] For an overview of this incident and its outcome, see Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, pp.108-109

[45] Ibid., p.110, see the comments of Brian Jenkins in footnote 91.

[46] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.654

[47] See Thomas L Friedman, "Israelis Appear Angered by Subtle U.S. Pressure," New York Times, June 21, 1985 and "The Quandry for Israel," New York Times, June 22, 1985 and Bernard Gwertzman, "Schultz and Peres Agree to Oppose Shi'ites Demands. Seek to Ease Tensions," New York Times, June 22, 1985

[48] For an overview of Israeli counter-terrorist policies, see Samuel M Katz, Guards Without Frontiers: Israel's War Against Terrorism, (London, Arms & Armour Press, 1990) and Peter Taylor, (1993), op.cit:, and David Tinnin and Dag Christensen, Hit Team, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976)

[49] See Peter Kidron, "Israel's Dilemma," Middle East International, June 28, 1985, pp.5-6

[50] See "Israel's Peres On The Spot," U.S. News & World Report, July 18, 1985, p.25

incident were attributed in some Israeli quarters as a direct consequence of that lopsided exchange and it was alleged that it had encouraged the hijacking.[51] Israel's initial response placed the U.S. government in a predicament when the Israeli government issued a statement to the effect that it would consider accommodating the United States and release the Atlit prisoners if the American government issued a formal request to the Israeli parliament. This angered and frustrated the Reagan Administration that was placed in an untenable position by its ally.[52] Israel was well aware of the U.S. stance on making concessions to terrorists. The U.S. viewed the Israeli response and statement as impertinent and provocative given the fact that the U.S. had already voiced its disapproval when Israel removed the Atlit prisoners from Lebanon and incarcerated them in Israel.[53]

An impasse prevailed as both nations remained inflexible and the situation was exacerbated when the Israeli Minister of Police, Haim Bar-Lev, announced that the crisis was essentially America's problem and that Israel was under no obligation to take the initiative.[54] This added to the strain as the administration could not contradict its hard-line stance and request Israel to exchange the Atlit prisoners for the hostages. The Israeli government only mollified its stance when it began to receive adverse publicity in the United States. Prime Minister Shimon Peres responded by calling George Schultz, and pledged Israel's support.[55] Peres gave an undertaking that Israel

---

[51] See "Daily Report," June 17, 1985, Foreign Broadcasting Information Service FBIS, Middle East and Africa, Jerusalem Television Service in Hebrew, (Washington D.C., U.S. Department of State), June 16, 1985, p.11

[52] For an overview of the administration's attitude towards Israel during the crisis, see "Reagan's Hostage Crisis," U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, p.20

[53] See "Israel's Peres On The Spot," U.S. News & World Report, July 18, 1985, p.25

[54] See Christopher Walker, "Israel Says U.S. Must Move First," Times, June 18, 1985, p.1. According to the Israeli Minister of Police; "The plane is an American plane. The hostages are American citizens and the crew is American. We need not take any initiative."

[55] See Amy Wilentz, "Managing The Crisis", Time, July 15, 1985, pp.24-25

would release the Atlit prisoners as soon as it believed that security conditions would enable it to act accordingly.[56] Soon afterwards Israel released 31 Atlit prisoners, but stated that their release was not related to the hijackers' demands, but rather due to the normal administrative and legislative processes in Israel.[57] Despite the rhetoric which flew back and forth between Israeli and U.S. spokesmen, an agreement with Israel became imperative for the Reagan Administration or the crisis would have remained deadlocked.

The Americans had two options:[58] Despite Israel's insistence that the U.S. would have to formally request Israel to release the Atlit prisoners, it conceded that such a request emanating from a "private forum" within the U.S. government would be acceptable and secure Israel's co-operation.[59] This was essentially a semantic ploy which would have hardly distanced the administration from the request. The alternative was for the administration to provide Syria with a pledge on behalf of Israel that it would release the prisoners in due course.[60] The latter option was exercised by the administration with the assistance of the United Nations special envoy, Jean-Claude Aime. He played a significant role and persuaded President Asad to briefly

---

[56] See Bernard Gwertzmann, "Schultz and Peres Agree to Oppose Shi'ite Demands and Speak to Ease Tensions," New York Times, June 22, 1985 and Peter Kidron, "Israel's Dilemma," New Republic, Vol.193, No.10, July 15, 1985

[57] See Robert Fisk, "Israel To Release 31 Shia Prisoners," Times, June 24, 1985. According to John Walcott, the Reagan Administration had secretly applied direct pressure on Israel when the Chairman of the International Federation of the Airlines Pilots Association, Thomas Ashwood, met with Amiram Nir, the Israeli Prime Minister's counter terrorist advisor, and advised him that that organisation was considering a boycott of Ben Gurion airport as a means of applying pressure on Israel to release the Atlit prisoners. The release of the 31 Atlit prisoners followed shortly afterward. See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.195

[58] See George D Moffett III and Peter Grier, "Hijack Confronted U.S. and Israel With Agonizing Choices," Christian Science Monitor, June 17, 1985, p.1

[59] See Thomas L Friedman, "Israelis Say U.S. Must Ask If It Wants Shi'ites Released," New York Times, June 18, 1985 and Michael Gether, "Officials Continue to Express Optimism for Hostage Deal," Washington Post, June 28, 1985, p.1

[60] See also Thomas L Friedman, "Israelis Appear Angered By Subtle U.S. Pressure, New York Times, June 21, 1985 and Thomas L Friedman, "The Quandry For Israel," New York Times, June 22, 1985

hold the hostages once the U.S. had provided an assurance that Israel would comply with the release of the Atlit prisoners after the hostages had been set free. Asad agreed and a U.S.-Israeli understanding was acknowledged by anonymous officials on both sides.[61] The Israeli authorities disclosed that the U.S. had requested Israel not to release any of the Atlit prisoners until all the hostages had been freed, as the U.S. was afraid of losing its leverage over the hijackers. This statement did not make any mention of the six Beirut hostages which was an indication that the TWA hostages remained the administration's primary concern at the time. However, the administration demonstrated its concern over the remaining hostages and dealt with this issue when President Reagan announced that he was still confronted with the dilemma of how to secure their release and how to punish those responsible.[62]

While an agreement had been reached between the U.S., Israel, Syria and Amal, no agreement with Kuwait had been forthcoming. This country was also considered as one of the more friendly Persian Gulf states to the United States. The hijacker's demand that Kuwait release the 17 al Da'wa prisoners placed the U.S. and Kuwait in the same predicament as between the U.S. and Israel. The Kuwaiti government, however, refused to realease the prisoners. The al Dawa 17 issue appears to have faded into the background of the crisis as the negotiations and media coverage concentrated on the Atlit prisoners held by Israel and the TWA hostages.[63]

---

[61] For an explanation of this arrangement, see David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:. p.197-198: This understanding was the result of a backchannel communication between George Schultz and Benjamin Netanyahu, Israel's Ambassador to the UN. Schultz worked through Charles Hill, who was the State Department's head of Arab-Israeli affairs and Schultz's executive assistant. Hill was also a close friend of Netanyahu and enquired about Israel's plans over the future of the Atlit prisoners. Netanyahu reported back that the Israeli government's stance was that all that stood in the way of the release of the Atlit captives was the freedom of the TWA passengers and crew. This paved the way for the U.S. administration to provide Syria with the assurance that Israel would comply. This was confirmed by Ariel Merari, in a **telephone interview**, during February 1996.

[62] See David Hoffman, "U.S. May Still Strike Back, Reagan Hints," Washington Post, June 29, 1985, p.1

[63] See Jim Muir, "Shi'ite Leader Caught in a Tight Spot," Christian Science Monitor, June 25, 1985.

It would appear that Nabih Berri managed to suppress the demand for the release of the al Dawa 17 detainees and that he persuaded the hijackers to limit their objectives to the demand for the release of the Atlit prisoners.[64] Nabih Berri was an astute political player. Within the myriad of the Lebanese civil war his Amal militia controlled Beirut's international airport.[65] As the circumstances of the hijack operation unfolded, Hizb'allah was left with little choice but to form a temporary alliance with Amal and to seek Berri's assistance as their representative. The exact motives for Berri's involvement are unclear, however, it is possible that as the head of Lebanon's main Shi'ite militia, he recognised an opportunity to enhance his status in Lebanon and ingratiate himself with the United States by acting as mediator between the hijackers and America.[66]

America's final consideration was its political and geostrategic objectives of preventing the radical Shi'ites, Palestinians, Syria, Iran and the Soviet Union from deriving any influence in the region or political advantage from the crisis situation. In addition to the problem of balancing its objectives with those of its allies and two competing adversaries, nl, Hizb'allah and Amal, the administration was beset with a triangular institutional tension between the State Department, the NSC staff and the intelligence community.

For the intelligence community, however, the TWA hijacking could have not occurred at a more inopportune moment. Its intelligence capabilities in Lebanon had been severely crippled, and in order to supplement its sigint capabilities, it was relying upon its agents stationed in Israel, Egypt and Cyprus, to manage its humint assets,

---

[64] See Robin Wright, "Shi'ite Leaders: Far From United," Christian Science Monitor, June 25, 1985, p.1

[65] See Dilip Hiro, Lebanon: Fire and Embers, A History of the Lebanese Civil War, (London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993), pp.117-118 and Augustus Richard Norton, Amal and the Shi'a: Struggle for the Soul of Lebanon, (Austin, Texas, University of Texas Press, 1987), pp.139-140

[66] See Jim Muir, "Shi'ite Leader Caught in a Tight Spot," Christian Science Monitor, June 25, 1985 and Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, pp.605-609

operations, and objectives throughout the whole region.[67] An immediate objective of the intelligence community was to push for its dominance and leadership of the Early Support Teams (EST) which are an advance party deployed by the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC) during crises to facilitate the rescue of hostages abroad.[68] The EST which is predominantly composed of CIA and other intelligence community officials, acts as an advance intelligence gathering mission. Since its function is to collect intelligence in support of JSOC operations, and in those circumstances the local CIA personnel provide auxiliary support and logistics (techint), the CIA had argued that it should lead the EST. As the Pentagon provided logistical support in the form of transportation and communications, and the State Department was designated as the lead agency for international counter-terrorism, institutional wrangling over leadership of the EST became a constant source of contention.[69] In the case of the TWA crisis, a State Department Middle East Specialist, David Long, was assigned to lead the EST. Although it was despatched to the Middle East, it was airborne nine hours after the incident had first been reported. An additional ten hours later it arrived in Cyprus, where it remained for the crisis duration.

At Cyprus, David Long and a handful of agents left and flew to Algiers but arrived after TWA Flight 847 had departed upon its last leg to Beirut.[70] The JSOC Delta Force, led by Brig.Gen. Carl Stiner, arrived in Cyprus a full thirty-four hours after the hijack started. This delay had been caused as a result of an argument between the

---

[67] Ariel Merari, during a **telephone interview**, during February, 1996

[68] The JSOC controls the U.S. counter-terrorist forces which are comprised of the Army Special Forces' Delta Force and the Navy's Seal Team 6. They are supported by counter-terrorist and intelligence experts seconded from the Pentagon, the CIA and the State Department. See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.175

[69] The sentiments expressed by Noel Koch, during a **telephone interview**, on February 21, 1996.

[70] David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, pp.178-180

CPPG, its Terrorist Incident Working Group and the Pentagon. The former had wanted to despatch Delta Force immediately, however, the latter was reluctant to deploy its forces until the TWA flight had come to a final stop. While there was undoubtedly sense in Pentagon's argument, their lethargy was characteristic of the its reluctance to become involved in counter-terrorist operations.[71] The failure of Desert One, albeit five years previously, had undermined the administration's and the military's confidence in the use of force in non-conventional operations.[72] The failure of that operation was attributed to poor military planning and the failure of vital equipment, no less the poor state of maintenance of the RH-53D Sea-Stallion helicopters operated by the U.S. navy.[73] Caspar Weinberger maintained the opinion that the U.S. armed forces should be used only in situations of war and then only when the U.S. had total public support and an overwhelming chance of success.[74] The institutional conflict did not end there. In addition to the bureaucratic wrangling over who should lead the EST during the crisis, the intelligence community became entangled in the negotiations process between the State Department and the Israeli government. This sparked a row between George Schultz and William Casey, which added to the former's distrust of the intelligence community.[75]

The latter's involvement in the crisis was thus dominated and preoccupied by institutional conflict as opposed to effective tasking, collection and analysis. The tension between Schultz and Casey resulted in the State Department and the CIA functioning in an

---

[71] See Caspar Weinberger, (1991), op.cit:, p.159 and Appendix I, "Text of Remarks by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to the National Press Club - November 28, 1984," pp.445-457

[72] Observations made by Noel Koch during an **interview** on February 21, 1996

[73] For an overview of the circumstances surrounding the failure of Operation Desert One, see Charles Beckwith and Donald Knox, (1983), op.cit:, also David Martin and John Walcott (1988), op.cit:, pp.6-42 and Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, pp.126-131

[74] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.50-53

[75] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, pp.659-660

uncoordinated manner which was embarrassing and increased the marginalisation of the intelligence community and encouraged Schultz in his tendency to ignore its advice.[76] The intelligence community was marginalised and confined to providing tactical intelligence in support of rescue and retaliation options,[77] but remained excluded from the administration's policy deliberations. The same problem prevailed in the relationship between the intelligence community and the National Security Council and its staff, which used intelligence estimates on a selective basis in order to strengthen its position in the bureaucratic war between the Reagan Administration's departments and key officials.[78] Bureaucratic competition is not an uncommon phenomenon in government and these tensions are most often the result of the influence of competitive individuals. The analyses in the previous chapters have illustrated the role and influence of key players such as Philip Habib, George Schultz, President Reagan, Caspar Weinberger and William Casey. Their respective faults, driven by their parochial and institutional concerns, had a negative impact on the administration's ability to deal effectively with its previous problems in Lebanon. However, none of these individuals were as central to the failure of American policy in the region as the National Security Advisor, Robert McFarlane, who used intelligence on a selective basis and in his own interests.[79] The most glaring example of his "misuse" of

---

[76] For an example of the tension between Schultz and Casey, see George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.659. Schultz was angered by the fact that while he was persuing his backchannel communications with Benjamin Netanyahu the CIA were doing exactly the same with Mossad. This led to embarrassment because Netanyahu had asked him if any other communications were being conducted between the U.S. and the Israeli government to which Schultz had answered no.

[77] See "Antiterror Forces: At Reagan's Call," U.S. News & World Report, June 24, 1985, p.12

[78] For an example of how intelligence is politicised and how Caspar Weinberger used intelligence selectively to distrort the Soviet threat and to achieve Reagan's backing for his defence proposals, see David Stockman, The Triumph of Politics, (New York, Harper & Row, 1986), p.290.

[79] John Walcott, editor U.S. News & World Report, in an **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

intelligence was came about through an act of omission rather than commission, when he called for naval fire in support of the Lebanese army without seeking independent confirmation of the Lebanese commander - in - chief's assessment that a major offensive against the LAF had been launched.[80] Another example of his manipulation of intelligence occurred on August 31, 1984 when he requested an interagency analysis on U.S. relations with Iran after the death of Ayatollah Khomeini. This study concluded that arms transfers would not necessary guarantee the resumption of relations with Iran. Dissapointed with this assessment, he tasked Howard Teicher and NIO Graham Fuller to prepare another Special National Intelligence Estimate which was more in line with his policy of selling arms to Iran. This SNIE which was produced in May 1985 concluded that, the U.S. lacked the ability to counter Soviet imperialism in the region following Khomeini's death and that Israel may be able to fill the void be selling American arms to Iran and then being replenished by the U.S. The estimate supported McFarlane's preferred policy over the opposition of Schultz and Weinberger who were against selling American arms to Iran.[81] This meant that he only paid attention to intelligence when it was consistent with his policy objectives and which could help him to prove his arguments.[82] This contravened the basic principles of intelligence. Recall that intelligence should be a reflection of the reality upon which policy objectives should be based, as opposed to a product which is used to justify preconceived policy decisions. As one key participant and observer has noted, "McFarlane used intelligence as a weapon in bureaucratic warfare, rather than a tool for rational decision-making."[83] McFarlane especially saw his role

---

[80] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, p.504

[81] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.221

[82] Ibid., p.217

[83] William Beck, former Naval intelligence communications officer in Beirut who worked closely with Robert McFarlane when he replaced Philip Habib as special envoy to Lebanon, in an **interview** on August, 2, 1995. This opinion has been substantiated by Geoffrey Kemp who worked with McFarlane at the NSC, during an **interview** with the author on July 19, 1985,

especially saw his role more as a shaper of foreign policy than a mediator between departments on national security issues, and his behaviour inevitably brought him into conflict with Caspar Weinberger and George Schultz, as described above.[84]

When policy disputes arose between the various departments concerning policy-making on Lebanon, the intelligence community was used in the decision making process as a force multiplier, lending credence to arguments. Intelligence estimates on Lebanon were only used to reinforce arguments instead of as a general a guide to decision making. The key to manipulating intelligence lies in the ability of an individual or institution concerned to task the intelligence community with collecting and preparing an intelligence report or estimate on a selected subject.[85] An example of this practice was McFarlane's request for a Special National Intelligence Estimate on the likelihood of an Israeli attack against the PLO in Lebanon. His motive was to use the SNIE when prospects for war in Lebanon were increasing, to strengthen the position of the White House in setting foreign policy vis a vis the State Department, by requesting the production of the estimate at the right time.[86] In his official capacity as the NSA, McFarlane was in the best position to order, schedule and re-schedule national intelligence estimates on any current or relevant topic. He was able to maintain an advantage over his bureaucratic competitors by altering scheduled intelligence requirements and expediting them.[87] This interruption in the intelligence planning process had a direct effect upon the analytical quality of the reports as analysts were often hard-pressed to complete their estimates

---

Washington D.C.

[84] See Jane Mayer Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, p.63 and John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p. 481-483

[85] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.70

[86] William Beck, during an **interview** with the author on August, 2, 1995

[87] See Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.218.

ahead of schedule and without the necessary information which still may not have been collected, interpreted or verified. Under McFarlane's supervision, the NSC staff used the CIA's capacity and resources to conduct covert operations, but ignored the Agency's analytic capability to evaluate the dangers and chances of success of its initiatives.[88]

Evidence of McFarlane's marginalisation of the intelligence community in the policy making process can also be found in the failure of the U.S. brokered 17 May Treaty between Israel and Lebanon.[89] In this instance, Schultz, Habib and McFarlane pursued the agreement against the CIA's advice that Syria would not comply with its terms and that President Asad had the ability to effectively veto its implementation.[90] McFarlane's intelligence selectivity also became evident much later on during the Iran-Contra operation.[91]

Under McFarlane's predecessor, Judge William P. Clark, the NSC staff had swelled to over 186 staff members, which was the highest number for the NSC under any presidency.[92] Clark was also responsible for the installation of a sophisticated computer system which had been installed in the Crisis Management Centre and which had given the NSC staff direct access to raw data and information available from the intelligence community.[93] Although the technical

---

[88] Jane Mayer Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, p.61 and Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, pp.219-226

[89] For a case study overview of the Treaty, see Barry Rubin and Laura Blum, The May 1983 Agreement Over Lebanon, (Washington D.C., The Institute for the Study of Diplomacy School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, Pew Case Study No.312, 1992)

[90] See Raymond Tanter, (1990) op.cit:, p.219

[91] See the Report of the President's Special Review Board, The Tower Commission Report, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, February 26, 1987). According to the report the intelligence community had produced a SNIE on Iran that challenged the White House assumptions upon which the arms transfers were based. The SNIE was ignored by McFarlane. See also Raymond Tanter, (1990), op.cit:, p.220. McFarlane's tendency to use intelligence on a selective basis was also revealed in a report published by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence which found that the National Intelligence Estimate publiched in April 1985 indicated that Israel had its own motivations for encouraging the arms sales to Iran.

[92] John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.455

[93] This computer system was the brainchild of Professor Richard Beal, a Brigham

wizardry did not provide the NSC with everything, it certainly tipped the scales in its favour and provided it with an overwhelming source of information that empowered it to operate with greater flexibility and independence from the intelligence community. The administration's crisis centre thus acquired its own capability to collect and analyse information. Despite the large number of staff, McFarlane only worked closely with his deputy, Admiral John Poindexter, Donald R. Fortier, his chief strategist, Howard Teicher, the politico-military affairs director and Lt.Col. Oliver North. Teicher's presence in this close-knit circle was a source of continual controversy that fuelled allegations of a pro-Israeli lobby at work within the NSC staff because of his Jewish origins, that contributed to the tensions between the State Department and the NSC staff over their approaches to Israel during the TWA crisis.[94]

The NSC staff was supposed to have provided the mechanisms by which policy disputes within the administration should have been resolved and combined departmental initiatives implemented and co-ordinated. Rather than resolving bureaucratic impasses, the NSC staff instead resorted to implementing policies that it had created which were based upon their perceptions of what the President wanted.[95] Under Robert McFarlane's stewardship it became the "...engine for policy disputes."[96] The NSC was a greater cause of

---

Young University professor, who installed $10 million worth of equipment in the NSC's Crisis Management Centre in room 208 of the Old Executive Office Building. This prevented the Pentagon and the CIA from being able to choke off NSC planning for covert operations, as they were no longer able to slow down the flow of information to the NSC staff. The NSC staff's operational capabilities were further enhanced with the introduction of the IBM "Professional Office System" (PROFS). This was a computer e-mail system with encryption which enabled the inner-circle of the NSC staff members to communicate with each other in secret. It was used by Lt. Col.Oliver North during the Iran-Contra Affair. For greater details of how technology empowered the NSC staff, see Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.62-63

[94] This has been alluded to by Howard Teicher personally in an **interview** with the author on October 23, 1995 and also mentioned by David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.193

[95] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, pp.472-473

[96] See Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.198-202 and Martin and Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.192.

conflict within the administration than their resolution. The catalyst of most of these disputes with regard to its foreign policy in Lebanon, was Israel which was continuously drawing the U.S. into its activities, such as its Invasion of Lebanon, the crisis over the expulsion of the PLO, the Sabra and Shatila massacres[97] and now the TWA crisis and the issue over the Atlit prisoners.[98]

As the politico-military analyst on the NSC staff at the time, Teicher believed that the cause of the hijack problem originated with Syria and President Asad's exercise of 'realpolitik.' Asad was perceived as a ruthless actor whose considered Lebanon as an extension of Syria's national security. It was therefore in Asad's interest to embarrass the U.S. in the region and to drive a wedge between America and Israel.[99] The combination of Teicher's sympathy for Israel and Syria's role may have undermined his analytical objectivity. It may have caused him to overlook the fact that the TWA crisis stemmed from Israel's arrest of the Hizb'allah guerrillas in southern Lebanon and their detention at Atlit prison in Israel.

Crises exert a direct impact upon government policy and process. Because they demand an immediate response, they enable the White House to seize the initiative and take the lead over other government departments which would normally be entrusted with the implementation of policy. This introduces tensions over policy when in the absence of strong and decisive leadership, ambitious cabinet

---

[97] See Zeev Schiff, "Who Decided, Who Informed," New Outlook, Vol.25, (1982), pp.19-22 and Nick Thimmesch, "The Media and Middle East," American Arab Affairs, No.2, (Fall 1982), pp.79-88

[98] It should be remembered that Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its expulsion of the PLO was the reason why the U.S. had become involved in the multi-lateral peacekeeping force and the subsequent attacks against its marines and embassies. For an overview of how Israel dragged America into the Lebanon quagmire see George Ball, (1984), op.cit:, and Jonathan Randal, The Tragedy of Lebanon: Christian Warlords, Israeli Adventures and American Bunglers, (London, Chatto & Windus, 1989) as well as John Mackinlay, The Peacekeepers, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989)

[99] Views expressed by Howard Teicher during a **telephone interview**, with the author on October 23, 1995 and confirmed by David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.193

members are likely to seize the initiative and attempt to further their own interests. This is what happened during the Reagan Administration as exemplified by the behaviour of Robert McFarlane and William Casey. The underlying responsibility of the NSA and the NSC is to balance diplomacy and force. Under the leadership of the president and his national security council members, such as the Secretaries of State and Defence, they should lead an interagency process that is designed to integrate and harmonise political and military responses to crises. The role of the NSA is to act as an honest broker in the interagency process.[100] McFarlane failed in this responsibility and frustrated by the intransigence that prevailed between Weinberger and Schultz and President Reagan's indecisiveness, acted as an independent policy formulator.[101] In this instance, he overreached the activist principle and not only advocated policy options[102], but through using and directing the NSC staff's resources crossed over the line between policy making and its implementation.

The TWA crisis revealed the divergent interests which prevailed between the government's departments and demonstrated that institutional competition and interests can exert negative influences. It also demonstrated that in managing a crisis situation where more than one state actor and adversary are involved, a balancing act between the interests and objectives of all the key players is required and that crisis decision making does not occur in a vacuum. This reality enforces the principle that it is advisable to limit one's

---

[100] See Christopher Shoemaker, "The Role of the Assistant to the President," in Christopher Shoemaker, (1991), op.cit:, pp.110-115 and Leslie Gelb in Lawrence J Korb and Keith D Hahn, (eds.), National Security Policy Organisation in Perspective, (Washington D.C., American Enterprise Institute, 1981), pp.19-20 and Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The NSC'S Midlife Crisis," Foreign Policy, No.69, (Winter 1987-89), p.82

[101] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.54-65. The same opinions pertaining to McFarlane and his role as NSA were expressed by John Walcott in an **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington D.C.

[102] For an overview of Robert McFarlane's opinions on terrorism,response and the divergent views of George Schultz and Caspar Weinberger, see Robert C McFarlane, "Terrorism and the Future of Free Society," Terrorism, Vol.8, No.4, (1986), pp.315-326

objectives during a crisis situation. Furthermore conservative objectives should also go hand in hand with an economy of means if an escalation in the tension level of the crisis is to be avoided. The Reagan Administration, however, failed to adhere to this principle as the following section demonstrates.

5.3 Limiting the use of force and the dilemma of responding to terrorism

> A ransom agreed in negotiation is a ransom which can be afforded and so should not be withheld.[103]

The administration compounded the situation by threatening to use military force in retaliation against the hijackers at various times during the crisis. This threat was conveyed when George Schultz stated that the use of force could not be ruled out and when the Pentagon announced the presence of its Sixth Fleet off the Lebanese coast.[104] This increased the tension level during the crisis by adding to the hijackers fears of retaliation and delayed its resolution towards the end when Berri insisted on a commitment by the U.S. that it would refrain from retaliating against the hijackers after the release of the hostages.[105] Although the administration sought to respond to the situation in a controlled manner, it nevertheless elevated the crisis threshold by attempting to link the release of the TWA hostages with the six Beirut hostages, who were being held by the al-Jihad group within Hizb'allah.[106] In this instance the crisis management team failed to exercise restraint in limiting its objectives during the crisis.

---

[103] Martin Hughes, "Terror and Negotiation," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.2, No.1, (Spring 1990), p.72

[104] See Robert Fisk, (1992), op.cit:, p.607

[105] See George de Lama and Terry Atlas, "Did Reagan Speech Botch Deal? Tough Talk Has Administration on the Defensive," Chicago Tribune, June 30, 1985, p.1

[106] Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Says 7 Missing Must Also Go Free With Air Hostages,"

Before Amal resorted to dispersing the TWA hostages in Beirut, they were already in a relatively secure position against any possible attack from the U.S. The Beirut hostages held by their temporary allies, Hizb'allah, provided this assurance as any military reprisal could have resulted in the execution of these hostages.[107] In fact, the use of force against Hizb'allah would always have been ruled out for as long as Hizb'allah was able to use the safety of the western hostages in Beirut as a safeguard against reprisal by the U.S.[108] Despite Reagan's rhetoric and military posturing, the government found itself faced with only one option which was to negotiate.[109] Given the administration's vehement and dogmatic stance against making concessions to terrorists, this created a political and moral dilemma.

A fundamental principle of negotiation holds that parties who negotiate can only participate successfully from a position of strength.[110] In the case of the U.S., however, the only leverage that it possessed was to threaten the hijackers with military retaliation or an economic boycott of Beirut and its airport.[111] Neither of these options

---

New York Times, June 28, 1985

[107] See Robert Fisk, "Group of hostages in clutches of pro-Iranian extremists," Times, June 22, 1985. According to Fisk, Amal held four hostage groups and Hizb'allah a fifth, in addition to the six Beirut hostages kidnapped during the previous year in Beirut.

[108] See Jamil Nasser, "The Uncostly War," New Statesman, February 20, 1987, pp.9-10 and Helena Cobban, "Responding in Lebanon and Elsewhere," New York Times, June 23, 1985

[109] This sentiment was expressed by Stansfield Turner and by Noel Koch, the Pentagon's counter-terrorist officer at the time. See David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.181. This was confirmed by Noel Koch, during a **telephone interview**, on February 1996. Also for the difficulties in responding to hostage situations see Arthur Schlesinger Jr., "When Terrorists Take Hostages: Obsession Leads to Paralysis," New York Times, June 27, 1985.

[110] See T E Abbott, "Time-Phase Model for Hostage Negotiation," Police Chief, Vol.53, No.4, 1986, pp.34-36 and R Fisher and W Ury, Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreements Without Giving In, (Boston, Houghton Mifflin & Co, 1981) and R B Cialdini, J E Vincent, S K Lewis, (et.al) "Reciprocal Concessions Procedure For Inducing Compliance: The door-in-face technique," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol.31, 1975, pp.206-215

[111] See Mark Whittaker, "Reagan's Options," Newsweek, July 8, 1985, pp.22-24 and William L Chaze, "What Price For the Hostages?," U.S. News & World Report, July 8, 1985, p.23 and Hugh Sidey, "The Courage of Restraint," Time, August 14, 1989, p.14

were plausible and nor would have been in America's geostrategic interests. For reasons discussed, military retaliation had to be ruled out and the administration feared that any closure of Beirut international airport would have elevated Syria's influence in Lebanon as its airport in Damascus could become a credible substitute given the short distance between he two cities.[112] Although the administration tried to link the release of the six Beirut hostages to its counter-demands, there can be no doubt that this was partly in response to mounting public pressure from their relatives. It was also a tactic on the administration's part to build in a demand that they would be able to drop as a concession and therefore create room to manoeuvre during their negotiations. Despite America's relatively weak position, the media fuelled the debate over the U.S. options to use force against the hijackers. In addition the administration's rhetoric over international terrorism and its threats of reprisals against the hijackers, increased the tension levels.

The media contributed to the tension by publishing debates which fuelled speculation over the administration's likelihood of retaliation. For example, the opinions of former government officials, notably that of Henry Kissinger,[113] Lawrence Eagleburger and four previous Directors of the CIA, Richard Helms, James Schlesinger, William Colby and Stansfield Turner were sought, broadcast and published in at least one weekly news magazine.[114]

Helms advocated a steady and unemotional approach. He cautioned against the temptation of 'declaring war on terrorism' and argued against assassination as an option. He in fact warned against

---

[112] See David B. Ottoway, "Possible Sanctions Against Hijackers May Be Futile," Washington Post, June 26, 1985, p.17 and Rodney Snyder, (1994), op.cit:. p.15

[113] For Henry Kissinger's opinion, see Helena Cobban, "Don't Hit Back," New York Times, June 23, 1985. According to Cobban, the 'experts' which included Henry Kissinger and who advocated retaliation failed to examine the circumstances in Lebanon and the dynamic complexities of the region and its actors.

[114] See Strobe Talbott, "The Problems With Retaliation. Four ex-CIA chiefs weigh the options for countering terrorism," Time, July 8, 1985, pp.13-14

any forms of violent retaliation, arguing that improved intelligence and increased co-operation amongst intelligence services of different countries, which could assist in penetrating and frustrating terrorist objectives and operations, was the only suitable approach. Helms used the opportunity to criticise the leaks that prevailed within the administration and Congress and pointed out that this factor was what inhibited increased international co-operation.[115]

James Schlesinger reminded the public that democracies forgo certain options by the nature of their societies and the whole set of ideals that they represent. He advocated a clear and unambivalent policy against terrorism which included offensive operations against terrorists. While he was not in favour of assassination, he thought the U.S. should not refrain from conducting operations against terrorist organisations and that if any terrorist was killed as a result of an operation, it should not be considered identical to an ordered assassination.[116]

William Colby was the most outspoken critic of the U.S. intelligence and para-military capabilities to counter terrorism. He placed the blame on the "...labyrinthine military structure." and the absence of a dedicated counter terrorist force.[117] Colby condemned assassination as an instrument but supported military force against terrorist bases and depots conducted in accordance with the rules of war.[118]

---

[115] Ibid.

[116] Ibid., These interviews were published exclusively in Time. No other references are available which cover this aspect.

[117] It is interesting to note that William Colby, a career intelligence officer, had served in an operational capacity in the OSS and the CIA before he became the DCI. More significantly, however, he was the director in charge of Operation Phoenix in Vietnam. See William Colby and William Forbath, (1978), op.cit. For a description of Operation Phoenix and William Colby's involvement, see Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, (1989), op.cit:, pp.166-167

[118] Strobe Talbott, (July 8, 1985), op.cit:, pp.13-14

Personal agendas also came to the fore as Stansfield Turner used the crisis as an opportunity to appear on television and reciprocate in criticising the CIA's management and response to terrorism under Casey. In an interview with *Time* magazine, he referred to Casey's botched covert operation against Sheikh Fadlallah in March that year and stated that, "Another problem is that we've got to be very careful about the sort of people who do our dirty work for us. What assurances do we have that our proxies won't take out 80 innocent people?"[119] He also stated that the military was not attuned to conducting para-military operations and advocated a CIA appendage to Delta Force which could assist the military with the operational details required for infiltrating Delta Force operatives among airline passengers.[120] All four of these former CIA directors came out strongly opposed to assassination as a form of retaliation against terrorism. The use of assassination by the intelligence community had been outlawed by President Ford in 1976 in an executive order and it been upheld by Presidents Carter in 1978 and Reagan in 1981.[121] These former CIA directors advocated the use of the Agency in a more activist role in counter-terrorist operations. In addition to the advice of former government officials, the media also published the opinions of a number of leading former policymakers, advisors and academics.[122] These public debates and opinions had

---

[119] For Turner's criticism of William Casey and the Sheikh Fadlallah operation, see Stansfield Turner, "The Fadlallah Folly," in S Turner (1991), op.cit:. , pp.183-187

[120] Strobe Talbott, "The Problems With Retaliation. Four ex-CIA chiefs weigh the options for countering terrorism," Time, July 8, 1985, pp.13-14

[121] See Abram N Shulsky, (1991), op.cit:, p.91. See also Executive Order 11905, "United States Foreign Intelligence Activities," February 18, 1976, sect.5 (g) [41 Fed.Reg.7733 (1976)], President Carter retained the ban in Executive Order 12036, January 24, 1978, sect.2-305 [43 Fed. Reg. 3687 (1978)] and President Reagan upheld the same ban in Executive Order 12333, December 4, 1981, sect.2.11 [48 Fed. Reg.59947 (1981)]

[122] The U.S. News & World Report published a debate between former Under Secretary of State, Lawrence Eagleburger, the then President of Kissinger Associates and Robert Kupperman, a senior adviser at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Affairs. Whereas Eagleburger came out strongly in favour of military retaliation against terrorist groups, Kupperman cautioned against the use of military force on the grounds that it would encourage counter-retaliation. He warned against the pitfalls of response when driven by emotion rather than by cold-blooded calculation. While Eagleburger pointed out that a cycle of violence already existed and that failure to respond to terrorist

little effect upon the administration's policy, however. The only effect they had as they raged back and forth in the media and on television, was to highlight the dilemmas faced by democracies in combating terrorism.[123] Of little use to the administration, the publicity only served to demonstrate to America's adversaries in Lebanon that their strategy of using terrorism against the world's leading democratic state was highly successful. The increase in tension between the parties served to conceal the fact that, contrary to its publicised principles, the government was in fact compromising. It circumvented the problem by using backchannel methods to communicate with Israel and, through semantic manipulation, created the impression that no negotiations were taking place and that the release of the hostages had been secured as a result of the creation of satisfactory conditions acceptable to the hijackers.[124]

Underlying the administration's limitations was the fact that the security and intelligence communities were ill equipped in personnel, assets and doctrine to support the government that had to balance its interests and make decisions based upon limited and often ambiguous information.[125] The crisis rekindled public concern and debate over the role and activities of the intelligence community which focused upon the function of the CIA. In a research project on the media and terrorism that focused on the network evening news coverage of the TWA hostage crisis, Atwater revealed that after reports which featured the status of the hostages (34 %), the U.S.

---

violence in kind would be tantamount to announcing that Americans abroad were fair game for terrorists, Kupperman went on to expose America's domestic vulnerability to acts of terrorism.See "Pro and Con: Should U.S. Strike Back at Terrorists?" U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, p.22

[123] For an overview of the dilemmas facing democracies and the U.S., see John M Oseth, "Combating Terrorism: The Dilemmas of a Decent Nation," Parameters, Journal of the US Army War College, Vol.XV, No.1, pp.65-75

[124] For an overview of the moral principles at stake in negotiating with terrorists, see Martin Hughes, (Spring 1990), op.cit:, pp.73-82

[125] See Rodney A Snyder, Negotiating With Terrorists: TWA Flight 847, (Washington D.C., Georgetown University, Institute for the Study of Dilpomacy, School of Foreign Service, Pew Case Studies in International Affairs, Case 333, 1994), p.1

government's reaction dominated 17% of the media reports.[126] In fact, a survey of the leading U.S. newspapers in 1985 reveals that following the TWA crisis, the Agency was the theme of 103 editorials. Although this is smaller than the 227 recorded in 1975 during Watergate, it demonstrates the concern among the U.S. public about the intelligence community's activities and the public's recognition of the necessity for an intelligence capability that is proficient in responding to terrorism without compromising on democratic values and principles.[127] The intelligence community are best equipped to empower the government with the leverage that it requires to approach negotiations in crises from a position of relative strength. This reinforces the intelligence imperative principle. In the TWA crisis the intelligence community failed to provide the administration with the information that it needed. Instead the media who had access to the scene, the hijackers and the hostages, found itself in an advantageous position which enabled them to usurp the role of the intelligence community.

5.4 The intelligence imperative and support during the TWA crisis

> National decision makers require information to alert them on a timely basis to potentially hazardous events and to allow them to manage crises as they occur.[128]

The TWA crisis reflected a fundamental shortcoming in the producer - consumer relationship; this was the absence of effective communication. A number of obstacles caused this breakdown

---

[126] Tony Atwater, Terrorism and the News Media Research Project: Network Evening News Coverage of the TWA Hostage Crisis, (Boston, Massachusetts, Emerson College, No date), p.6

[127] Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, (1989), op.cit:. p.241

[128] Stanley A Taylor and Theodore J Ralston, "The Role of Intelligence in Crisis Management," in Alexander George, (ed.), (1991), op.cit:. p.395

between the intelligence community and the crisis management team. A combination of competing bureaucratic interests, organisation and structural arrangements and rigid doctrinal impediments together with problems in obtaining access to intelligence assets and information, contributed towards the intelligence community's poor performance in the areas of collection, analysis and product dissemination during the crisis.

5.4.1 Tasking and collection

Amid allegations that the hijackers had been planning the operation for weeks in advance, the primary task of the intelligence community during the crisis was to establish the identity of the hijackers, their strength, armaments, logistics, support and objectives.[129] In an interview with the *New York Times*, Senator Jesse Helms, who was a ranking member of the U.S. Foreign Relations Committee, alleged that Iran had recruited, trained and financed the TWA hijack operation.[130] Senator Helms' statement must be evaluated in the light of possible political posturing on his part at the time.[131] The significance of his disclosure lies in the allegation that his research staff was involved in monitoring developments in Iran and that this information was sourced from Iranian, Lebanese and other Muslim sources *inside* the United States.[132] While the reasons

---

[129] See Dan Fischer, "Peres Says Hijacking Was Planned for Over a Month," Los Angeles Times, June 22, 1985. According to Peres' press secretary, Uri Savir, he was not sure whether Peres was responding to intelligence information.

[130] See Bob Secter and Norman Kempster, "Iran-Influenced Hizb'allah Cited by McFarlane," Los Angeles Times, June 20, 1985 and Hedrick Smith, "Hostages in Lebanon: A Finger is Pointed At Iran. Helms Says Iran Planned Hijacking," New York Times, June 28, 1985

[131] Observations made by John Walcott, in a subsequent **telephone interview**, on February 16, 1996

[132] Numerous requests to interview Senator Jesse Helms during February 1996 proved unsuccessfull. While Helms contends that his research staff had access to individuals within the USA, it is doubtful that they had any meaningful insight into Hizb'allah's plans or activities, given that organisation's penchant for security and the fact that it was organised according to

behind the intelligence community's failure in Beirut have already been explained, in this instance warning intelligence failed because of the delay in communication and dissemination channels caused by limited access.[133]

Whereas the intelligence community and Senator Helms' staff were allegedly in possession of information pertaining to the 'who' and 'why', behind the TWA operation, they certainly did not know the answers to the questions of 'what', 'when', 'how' and 'so what', pertaining to the planned hijacking. These questions are all necessary in constituting the full spectrum of intelligence information.

During the crisis, officials conceded that Washington's intelligence assets in Lebanon were 'skimpy', especially with regard to terrorist groups.[134] Despite the efforts of William Casey to increase the community's intelligence assets, the reality was that a whole new network had to be build up from scratch in Lebanon. In the interim, human intelligence gathering was being staged from Egypt and Israel.[135] The intelligence community remained isolated from conducting human intelligence operations on the ground in Lebanon and Iran, who were the key state actors in the hijacking operation. The combined operation between Hizb'allah and Amal demonstrated how the various factions were able to co-operate, albeit temporarily against the U.S. and the complexity that prevailed within Lebanese politics. Their second task was to identify potential targets for

---

clan lines. Within Hizb'allah itself, only a handful of individuals were ever privy to its operations. The possibility of that info extending to the USA was highly unlikely.

[133] It remains doubtful whether Senator Helms research staff were in possession of more substantial substantial information than was available to the intelligence community. The difference, however, may have been that whereas the information was made directly available to Helms, in the case of the administration, there were too many bureaucratic layers which formed obstacles in the way of effective and speedy communication between the producer and consumers. Helms' staff, no doubt like the intelligence community, were in possession of information pertaining to the Who and Why, but not the additional and vitally necessary What, When and How of the planned hijacking operation.

[134] See William L Chaze, Reagan's Hostage Crisis," U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, p.21

[135] Ariel Merari, during a **telephone interview**, on February 20, 1996

retaliation after the crisis. In this instance, and given the administration's polarised cabinet, this implied identifying targets that could be selected for reprisal that would guarantee the government's legitimacy and sustained popularity.[136] The administration stated that since the appointment of William Casey, the CIA had placed additional intelligence agents into 'trouble spots', and that it had increased its analytical capabilities with the introduction of computers to assist with the analysis of the increasing information.[137] However, it reiterated the fact that it was finding it difficult to make any meaningful headway in the Middle East due to the clannish structure of the target organisations and their imperviousness to infiltration.[138] This was not the only area where the analytical capabilities of the intelligence community experienced shortcomings. Analysis pertaining to the influence of inter-group dynamics in Lebanon and its effect on U.S. objectives remained the missing dimension.

5.4.2 Analysis

The argument over "how to react" during the crisis overshadowed any progress towards its in-depth analysis. Crisis-induced stress affects the intelligence process. Under these conditions intelligence tends to reflect incremental perceptions based upon a "current events syndrome."[139] The restraints imposed through the shortage of time combined with stress, inhibits the careful evaluation of information

---

[136] See Mark Whitaker, "Diplomacy By Carrot and Stick," U.S. News & World Report, July 15, 1985, pp.18-19

[137] See Robert A Manning, "Casey's CIA: New Clout, New Danger," U.S. News & World Report, June 16, 1986, pp.24-31

[138] See William Chaze, "What Price for the Hostages," U.S. News & World Report, July 8, 1985, p.23

[139] This syndrome is a phenomenon where intelligence analysts and consumers judge events and information in relation to the limited parameters of the crisis incident itself and lose sight of the broader ramifications and implications in relation to the wider context of events.

and its integration into a body of evidence that reflects in-depth analysis in context of not only the latest myopic piece of information, but of the effect upon overall values and objectives by the crisis situation - the answers to the 'so what' question in the deductive analysis chain.[140]

An appraisal of the administration's predicament in relation to the emerging conflict between Hizb'allah and Amal Shi'ite factions in Lebanon, and how the tensions between these two organisations and their patrons, Syria and Iran, affected the crisis dynamic was not available or forthcoming before or during the incident.[141] During the crisis, the community's resources remained devoted to ascertaining the identities, affiliations and supporters of the hijackers. Their second priority focused upon trying to establish the exact number of hostages and whether they had been separated and where they were being held. Intelligence analysis therefore remained essentially reactive and devoid of initiative as opposed to reflecting proactive measures or suggestions. The community was slow in responding to the information requirements of the NSC as bureaucratic struggles between the various intelligence agencies over the need to reach consensus in their analyses retarded overall intelligence production and communication.[142] Efforts at rebuilding the community's human intelligence network inside Lebanon and Iran while underway, were still in their infant stages and the production of intelligence could not be rushed.[143] Consequently the crisis managers, the president and

---

[140] Stanley A Taylor and Theodore J Ralston, (1991), op.cit:, p.405

[141] Unatributable source in the U.S. State Department, who served in the NSC staff at the time of the crisis.

[142] For an overview of how bureaucratic interests impede decision making, see Morton H Halperin, "Why bureaucrats play games," Foreign Policy, No.2, 1971, pp.70-90 and Roger Hilsman, The Politics of Policy Making in Defense and Foreign Affairs, (New York, 1987). See also Bill Jenkins and A Gray, "Bureaucratic Politics and Power," Political Studies, Vol.31, 1983, pp.177-193

[143] Graham Fuller, **telephone interview**, on November 15, 1995

information: an alternative that was not without its own risks.[144]

While the media were able to provide almost instantaneous coverage they also served as the hijackers' and Nabih Berri's auxiliary communication channel with the administration. In the absence of intelligence contributions, opinions expressed in the media influenced and shaped the administration's crisis policy and response initiatives.[145] The media's influence was quite considerable while at the same time there was no professional analytical body available to interpret events and developments as portrayed in the media in the context of the government's objectives. In this manner the media, who became competition for the intelligence community, played an activist role. This was a dangerous situation as the media, like the intelligence community, was also removed from the inner sanctum of the decision making process of the policy makers. Consequently they could only speculate about the administration's crisis response objectives and policy.[146] The integrity of the information feed into the decision making mechanism was thus questionable because it was uni-directional.

5.4.3 Intelligence distribution and communication

Because organisational and hierarchical departmental structures result in the fact that virtually all intelligence analysts are located in agencies and bureaus, rather than at the level of senior policy makers, organisational arrangements impede effective utilisation of intelligence during crises.[147] This is due to the fact that professional

---

[144] Howard Teicher, **telephone nterview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[145] See Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man, (New York, St Martin's Press, 1991), pp.292-293 and Jeffrey, D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.187

[146] John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington, D.C and confirmed by Abraham Shulsky, Senior researcher, Rand Corporation, during an **interview**, on July 18, 1995, Washington, D.C

[147] Noel Koch, during a **telephone interview**, on February, 1996

analysts are not usually included in the crisis management team. Despite the fact that so much time, effort and money is spent on the tasking, collection and analysis of information, very few resources and thought are given to providing senior policy makers with analytical tools. The result is that senior policy makers tend to function as their own analysts.[148] This was one of the reasons for the breakdown in communication between the intelligence community and the crisis management team in the Reagan Administration and in particular, during the TWA crisis.

The absence of a contribution from the intelligence community at a most crucial stage in that crisis, almost resulted in a delay of the resolution of the crisis at the last minute. When on the eve of the hostages' release, President Reagan made his televised speech castigating the hijackers as murderers and threatening retaliation, Hizb'allah refused to release those hostages and crew members under their control until the administration had pledged it would not mount any reprisal.[149] No one within the Cabinet, the NSC staff or the intelligence community appears to have advised against the possible consequences of the president's speech at such a critical moment. Equally significant was the fact that no one asked the intelligence community for their advice either. There was no evidence that co-ordination between the intelligence community and the administration's press office existed, a crucial crisis management arrangement. The intelligence community was not involved in any of the crisis response debates or the planning process.[150] It simply remained a collector of information with none of its analysts being used as a sounding board by the NSC or its staff. In this instance, the

---

[148] See Ronald H Hinckley, "National Security in the Information Age," Washington Quarterly, (Spring 1986), p.128

[149] See George Church, "At Last the Agony is Over," Time, July 8, 1985, pp.14-20 and Karen De Young and William Drozdiak, "Intense Diplomacy, Syrian Weight End Crisis," Washington Post, July 1, 1985

[150] Unatributable source in the U.S. State Department, who served in the NSC staff at the time of the crisis.

NSC staff functioned as their own analysts. This is not surprising, however, given the scarcity of the intelligence community's information.

The CIA's weakness can be attributed to its inflexibility which it maintained despite the nature of the threat. Traditionalist norms reinforced the reluctance on the part of the intelligence community to become intimately involved in the decision making process and to offer objective advice. A factor which prevented the intelligence community from marketing itself aggressively and greater participation in the administration's crisis deliberations was the fundamental lack of intelligence. This shortcoming inhibited the intelligence community from approaching the NSC and its staff with advice and ideas despite the absence of up-to-date information.[151] This was partly the result of the perception of inferiority that was created and shaped by the administration.[152] This deprived it of much needed analytical and institutional memory and guidance from the intelligence community.[153] The result was that the media, which was the de-facto source of real-time information, filled the void.[154] Inevitably, however, the media was an unacceptable surrogate. While the administration relied upon it as a source of information, it was no substitute for analysed intelligence. In addition, the media's influence became all the more precarious for the administration as it crossed the boundary between being an asset as a source of information and a liability when it turned into an accessorial actor for the hijackers during the crisis.[155] The major media networks televised the hijackers'

---

[151] Howard Teicher, during a **telephone interview**, on October 23, 1995, Washington D.C.

[152] See John Ranelagh, (1987), op.cit:, p.707

[153] Geoffrey Kemp, **interview**, on July 19, 1995, Washington D.C.

[154] This was confirmed by Noel Koch during a **telephone interview** with the author on February 21, 1996 and by an unatributable source in the U.S. State Department, who served in the NSC staff at the time of the crisis.

[155] See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, pp.408-409

the hijackers' cause, which promoted their popularity among the local population in Lebanon and gave them international exposure.

5.5 The principle of communication: intelligence, the media and terrorism

> The era of the "trouble-free cathode cage" is long gone. It has been replaced with satellite technology that brings round-the-clock coverage of revolutions, hijackings, and other fast-breaking events.[156]

As the government could not be seen to be communicating openly with the hijackers, it had to find an intermediary or an alternative medium.[157] The television and printed media, despite presenting the crisis managers with additional problems, served this purpose. In the aftermath of the crisis, criticism was levelled at the media for their unprofessional behaviour.[158] Besides debates and no less than one congressional hearing over accusations that the presence and role of the media encouraged terrorism, one very important lesson emerged.[159] This lesson demonstrated that advances in technology facilitated greater access and direct communication and transmission for the media during crises and that the media therefore, became an additional factor and key actor which had to be 'reckoned with' during

---

[156] Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.261

[157] For an overview of the consequences of adopting a policy of not negotiating with terrorists, see Abraham H Miller, Terrorism and Hostage Negotiations, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1980)

[158] See Peter W Kaplan, "TV Networks Fight Fiercely on Hostages," New York Times, June 30, 1985

[159] See the U.S. Senate Select Committee Hearing on the Media, Diplomacy and Terrorism in the Middle East, July 30, 1985. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1985) and Tony Atwater, "Terrorism and the Evening News: An Analysis of Coverage of the TWA Hostage Crisis on NBC Nightly News," Political Communication and Persuasion, Vol.4, pp.17-24. See also John Dillin, "News Media Coverage of Hostage Story Raises Glaring Questions," Christian Science Monitor, July 2, 1985 and John Corry, "TV: Intruder in the Hostage Crisis," New York Times, June 26, 1985

crisis management. The initial reaction to this problem by the security forces and crisis management officials is to try and limit access by the media to the scene of any incident. The answer, however, lies in the ability of crisis managers to use the media as an additional instrument.[160] The media should be used as a means of communication between the authorities and the public and to establish and maintain legitimacy for crisis response policy and initiatives, while simultaneously undermining the credibility of the adversary.[161] The crucial issue in managing the media is the degree to which the authorities are able to exercise strict control over access to the scene and the adversary by the media and members of the public.[162] This applies especially to communications links between the terrorists and the media and is usually done by implementing physical access control to the crisis terrain and by severing communication links, i.e. cutting telephone lines and jamming radio signals from the adversary if necessary. In the case of the TWA crisis, however, the problem arose because the U.S. government did not control the terrain surrounding the hostages nor the communication links between the hijackers and the media. There was no friendly government that they could approach to carry out these measures on their behalf. On the domestic front the media assumed the role as the administration's communicator over the crisis not by conscious design but through default because of the government's intractability and the poor public relations which prevailed between the State Department and the relatives of the hostages.[163]

---

[160] For an explanation of the significance of the media as an instrument of power, see Roland D Crelinsten, "Power and Meaning: Terrorism as a Struggle over Access to the Communication Structure," in Paul Wilkinson and A M Stewart, (eds.), (1989), op.cit:, pp.419-445

[161] See Hanspeter Neuhold, "Principles and Implementation of Crisis Management: Lessons from the Past, in Daniel Frei, (ed.), (1978), op.cit:, p.8-9 and Paul Wilkinson, "Proposals for Government and International Responses to Terrorism," in P Wilkinson, (ed.) (1981), op.cit.

[162] See Michael J Kelly, "The Seizure Of The Turkish Embassy In Ottawa: Managing Terrorism And The Media," in Uriel Rosenthal, Michael T Charles and Paul 'T Hart, (eds.), (1989), op.cit:, pp.120-123

The government's reluctance to interact with the public was attributable to President Reagan's Chief of Staff, Donald Regan, who endeavoured to isolate Ronald Reagan from the public during the initial stages of the crisis.[164] Regan's main objective was to prevent the president from becoming emotionally involved in the crisis and to prevent a recurrence of the Iranian hostage crisis.[165] The administration's inability and failure to manage the media in the TWA crisis resulted in the media fulfilling two roles: First as the principal source of information pertaining to the crisis for the government and second as the spokesman between the government, the public and the hijackers.

5.5.1 The media fills the intelligence void

The media interview conducted with TWA pilot John Testrake and one of the hijackers, by ABC television provided the NSC with confirmation of the removal of hostages from the plane, whereas the intelligence community was unable to either confirm or deny that the hijackers had removed the hostages from the aircraft.[166] In this regard, the media also functioned as a source of operational intelligence for the crisis management team. It provided them with information about the hijackers' intentions and movements and the reaction of the public to the administration's counter moves. It also conveyed the hijackers' response to the American and Israeli

---

[163] For an overview on the debate of the role of the media and terrorism and the media's interaction with the public and providing them with information, see Jeffrey D Simon, "Myths about Terrorism and the Media" (1994), op.cit:, pp.266-276 and David Martin and John Walcott, (1988), op.cit:, p.192

[164] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, pp.96-101

[165] See John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.501

[166] See Philip Shenon, "U.S. Says It Has Little Information About Passengers Taken Off Jet," New York Times, June 17, 1985 and the comments of Nora Boustany in John Dillin's article, "News Media coverage of hostage story raises glaring questions," Christian Science Monitor, July 2, 1985

governments' statements back to the U.S. administration. The media provided an information contribution to the crisis centre.[167] This was a function that the intelligence community should have been providing, particularly if it had been playing a more activist role in the decision-making process. In this regard the media exerted an active influence in policy making. The distinction between the roles of the media and the intelligence community is that the intelligence community provides feedback into the crisis centre which is information that has been analysed in the context of the decision makers' policy objectives. The media, however, are only able to provide information sans the contextual perspectives as they are not privy to the decision makers' objectives. Notwithstanding this handicap the media are quite capable of influencing policy decisions.[168] Television anchormen by the very nature of their public profiles, are icons and are known to millions of viewers. Celebrity status elevates them to the level of policy makers in the eyes of their audience. According to Dan Rather, the CBS television Anchorman at the time, "...[A]nchormen and prominent correspondents are surrogate Secretaries of State."[169] Their views are expressed on national television and can therefore exert an active influence on crisis management and the government which can find itself formulating policy in accordance with the opinions and mood reflected by the media.[170]

---

[167] See Patrick Lagadec, (1993), op.cit:, p.211. Lagadec explains that communication during crises is vital since in the absence of information, other actors fill the vacuum who may be promoting their own interests.

[168] See Alexander L George, Presidential Decision-making in Foreign Policy: The Effective Use of Information and Advice, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1980), pp.169-1173

[169] See John Corry, "TV: Intruder in the Hostage Crisis," New York Times, June 26, 1985

[170] For an explanation of how the media can set public and policy agendas, see D L Shaw and M McCombs, The Emergence of American Political Issues: The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press, (St. Paul, MN, West Publishing, 1971)

The media also filled the void created by the lack of intelligence in providing useful leads and evidence to the FBI and the Justice Department for the identification and subsequent prosecution of some of the hijackers.[171] In assisting the Justice Department the media's role also created a dilemma. There was concern that the authorities' requests and subpoenas of the media and journalists would create a precedent and result in the perception that some of the networks were co-operating with or operating on behalf of the administration and the intelligence community. In addition to the likelihood that many journalists would plead the Fifth Ammendment, concerns were also expressed about what the consequences of this belief would herald for the safety of journalists and the media's access to future incidents.[172] It has already been noted that the media is not only a source of overt intelligence for governments, but that it can also function as a medium for direct and indirect communications with an adversary during crises.[173] In fulfilling both these roles the media effectively overshadowed the intelligence community as an active participant and support mechanism in resolving the crisis. President Reagan used the media to convey warnings to the hijackers that the U.S. would retaliate in the event of the hostages being harmed.[174] He also conveyed the message that the U.S. would not retaliate as long as the hostages came to no harm.[175] In addition, the administration used the media as an instrument to apply pressure

---

[171] In this instance not all the media networks gave their full co-operation. Most of them had to be subpoenaed. This created a dilemma for the networks who were traditionally reluctant to release material that had not been screened as footage and co-operating in bringing criminals to justice. See Alex S Jones, "CBS Compromises on Subpoena For Videotapes of Hostage Crisis," New York Times, July 27, 1985

[172] Ibid.

[173] Robert Grace, **interview**, on July 13, 1995 FBI Academy, Quantico Bay.

[174] See Bill Keller, "Warships Set Sail; U.S. Seeks to End Speculation It Will Act," in the New York Times, June 18, 1985 for an example of how the administration conveyed a veiled threat to the hijackers but simultaneously communicated to them that they would not retaliate against them while they had possession of the hostages and the hostages were not harmed.

[175] Ibid.

on Nabih Berri during the crisis by increasing its rhetoric and in stating that it held him personally accountable for the safety of the hostages. While the media proved to be a source of intelligence for the administration, this advantage was simultaneously undermined.[176] This aspect is explained below.

5.5.2 Terrorvision: The media becomes part of the problem

> I suddenly realised that the American media were there - in Beirut - in among the terrorist establishment, and that they were not going to cover the crisis, they were going to be part of it.[177]

The turning point in the relationship between the media and terrorism occurred during the Munich Olympics, when a global sporting event was transformed into a global terrorist event.[178] Since that incident, terrorists have realised the strategic potential of television media, [179] turning it into a phenomenon that Edwin Diamond has called '*Terrorvision.*'[180] The media and its editors, in turn, have recognised that terrorist events captivate international audiences and sell well.[181] In linking the issue of terrorism to the

---

[176] See the questions posed by Chairman Hamilton and Messrs Lantos and Powell of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs Hearing on the Media, Diplomacy and Terrorism in the Middle East, July 30, 1985. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1985), pp.24, & 35-37. See also the comments of Ted Turner on pages 111 and 113 of the same report.

[177] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.655

[178] Observations made by Pierre Salinger the foreign correspondent of ABC News which televised the Olympic Games, during an interview with Jeffrey D Simon, London, July 12, 1990, cited in Simon (1994), op.cit:, p.261

[179] For an overview of the symbiotic relationship between terrorists and the media, see Gabriel Weimann, "The Theatre of Terror: Effects of Press Coverage," Journal of Communication, Vol.33, pp.38-45

[180] See Edwin Diamond, "TV and the Hostage Crisis in Perspective. The Coverage Itself: Why It Turned Into 'Terrorvision,'" TV Guide, September 21, 1985, p.10

[181] See Yonah Alexander and Richard Latter, Terrorism and the Media: Dilemmas for Government, Journalists & the Public, (Brasseys US Inc., 1990), p.44. The above opinions on the symbiotic relationship between the media and terrorism were described by John Walcott, **interview**, on July 17, 1995, Washington, D.C

media and in alluding to their relationship, one must exercise objectivity.[182] As Simon quite rightly points out, "Terrorism existed before there was a mass media to cover such events."[183] The fact of the matter is that media coverage of terrorist acts is here to stay. What matters is how quickly crisis managers are able to recognise and understand the role of the media and include their influence into their response strategy.[184]

What complicated the TWA crisis for the administration was the fact that when the television correspondents broadcast live interviews with the hijackers, Nabih Berri and the hostages, news editors were not on hand to edit footage.[185] The problem with live transmissions is that they provide an immediate platform by means of the mini-cam and satellite transmision which has eliminated the role of the editor.[186] Consequently, journalist professionalism usually practised by the media, broke down, as editors were removed from the normal news selection and processing system and live transmission prevented objective reporting.[187] The phenomenon of instantaneous transmission placed the hijackers in the driving seat and enabled them to retain the initiative and maintain pressure on the government to respond to unfolding events almost immediately.[188] Finally, the

---

[182] See Robert Picard, News Coverage as a Contagion of Terrorism: Dangerous Charges Backed by Dubious Science, (Boston, Massachusetts, Terrorism and the News Media Research Project, July 1988)

[183] Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.269 and also Michael J O'Neill, 'The Role of the Media' in Yonah Alexander, (eds.) Conference Report, Terrorism: Future Threats and Responses," Terrorism, Vol.7, No.4., 1985, p.394

[184] Robert Grace, **interview**, on July 13, 1995 FBI Academy, Quantico Bay.

[185] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.657

[186] See Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, p.80

[187] See the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee Hearing on the Media, Diplomacy and Terrorism in the Middle East, July 30, 1985. (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington D.C., 1985) and Alex S Jones, New York Times, July 2, 1985

[188] See James Brooke, "Security Experts Urge Patience in Hostage Talks," New York Times, June 21, 1985 and also Robert Kuppermann, "Should U.S. Strike Back at Terrorists?" in an interview with U.S. News & World Report, July 1, 1985, p.22

Finally, the media's coverage of the TWA hostage crisis aroused public interest in the plight of the other six Beirut hostages.[189] Although the two hostage situations were quite distinct from one another, the next of kin of the Beirut hostages perceived that it was only due to the media's attention that the Reagan Administration was compelled to link the release of the two groups in its communications with Nabih Berri.[190] The public's growing frustration with the administration's inability to secure the release of the Beirut hostages exerted additional pressure on President Reagan. Frustrated by a divided and intransigent cabinet he turned to William Casey and the NSC staff which led to the Iran-Contra initiative. The involvement of the media and its intrusion into the policy-making domain of the administration by highlighting issues and agendas such as the Beirut hostage situation, demonstrated that in the world of technologically advanced communications, the ability of crisis managers to be able to respond to and control media fallout, had become essential.

Prominent news anchors / presenters such as Dan Rather and Peter Jennings from CBS and ABC admitted that the behaviour of the journalists at the TWA hostages' news conference in Beirut was a poor reflection on their industry. They lamented the fact that journalists had scrambled and fought among one another to gain access to the hostages during the staged conference at Beirut airport. However, this was a relatively trivial issue which detracted from the key concern which was the role of the media as a catalyst in crisis situations. In defending the media's general performance, they explained that fierce competition between the networks was a factor which compelled them to perform and to adjust their standards to the lowest common denominator among them.[191] The media thus focused

---

[189] See Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Says 7 Missing Must Also Go Free With Air Hostages," New York Times, June 28, 1985, p.6

[190] See M C Johns, "The Reagan Administration and State Sponsored Terrorism," Conflict, Vol.8, No.4, 1988, p.249 and Marvin Howe, "Kin of 'Other Hostages' See a Chance to Increase Efforts For Their Cause," New York Times, June 22, 1985, p.6

on the emotional aspects of the crisis instead of the political and legal issues at stake.[192] Or as George Schultz argues, it opted for conducting an 'alarmist' campaign by promoting all the hype, instead of an informative one by reporting the facts and difficulties faced by the authorities in such a situation.[193]

Of all the media networks, CNN maintained the maximum amount of coverage.[194] Whereas the Beirut bombing of the BLT Barracks in 1983 was an incident of relative short duration in that after the event there was little else to report other than the grief of the victims families and speculation over who was responsible, CNN covered the TWA crisis around the clock for two weeks. The prolonged media coverage elevated the profile of the incident and sustained public attention. During the incident CNN effectively replaced the intelligence community as the most up-to-date source of information in the White House.[195] "The result was the development of a sub-culture, known as the "CNN syndrome," within the military and the government where officials remained tuned in to CNN in the event of a crisis developing."[196] Its operational strategy of maintaining live around-the-clock coverage of crises, combined with interviews with 'talking heads'[197]- the practice of interviewing experts over the crisis - that has an impact on crisis policy making.[198]

---

[191] See Peter St John, Air Piracy, Airport Security and International Terrorism, (New York, Quorum Books, 1991), p.33

[192] See Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.266 and Jonathan Alter, "The Network Circus, TV Turns up the Emotional Volume," Newsweek, July 8, 1985, p.21

[193] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.657

[194] See Tom Rosenstiel, "The Myth of CNN," New Republic, August 22, 1994, pp.23-24

[195] For an overview of the meteoric rise of CNN and its significance, see Hank Whittemore, CNN: The Inside Story, (Boston, Little Brown, 1990)

[196] See Jeffrey D Simon, (1994), op.cit:, p.266

[197] 'Talking heads' is the euphemism given to experts and consultants, usually former government employees and academics, who are interviewed live on CNN by the news anchormen and women during their coverage of a crisis. They are used by experienced anchormen to flesh out the details of any event or crisis.

[198] For an overview of how the media influences political decision-making, see T Dye

The danger of the CNN syndrome, however, is to be found in its potential to depict the contents of its 'live' coverage of an event as significantly important material which, by virtue of its inclusion and the accompanying 'hype', is mistakenly interpreted as having a bearing on policy issues.[199] In addition, the phenomenon of twenty-four-hour coverage creates an erroneous perception that more information is better and that everything is therefore and somehow relevant.[200] This is not the only aspect of media coverage that can have an impact upon crisis decision making. The consequences of media reporting on crisis response measures of the authorities may also precipitate the creation of precedents. This concern is explained below.

5.6 The influence of the media on the principle of avoiding the creation of precedents

It has already been explained why it is important to avoid setting precedents when responding to crises so that allies are not exposed to further attacks and to avoid the encouragement of similar incidents in the future.[201] An underlying factor associated with this principle is

---

and H Ziegler, American Politics in the Media Age, (Belmont CA, Wadsworth, 1982) and D Graber, Mass Media and American Politics, (Washington D.C., Congressional Quarterly Press, 1980), and the R P Hawkins and S Pingree, "Using Television To Construct Social Reality," Journal of Broadcasting, No.25, 1981, pp.347-364, as well as the article in the Los Angeles Times, January 23, 1991, pp.1 & 5

[199] See D L Paletz and R Entman, Media Power Politics, (New York, The Free Press, 1981) and K H Jamieson and K Campbell, The Interplay of Influence: Mass Media and their Publics in News, Advertising, Politics, (Belmont, Wadsworth, 1983) and J B Lemert, Does Mass Communication Change Public Opinion After All?, (Chicago, Nelson Hall, 1981) and Tom Rosenstiel, (1994), op.cit:, pp.23-24

[200] For an overview of the anchor-narrator element of TV news, see Sharon Sperry, "Television News as Narrative," in R P Adler (ed), Understanding Television, (New York, Praeger, 1981), pp.295-312. See also Dan Nimmo and James Combs, Nightly Horrors: Crisis Coverage by Television Network News, (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1985), pp.14-19

[201] It would appear that as far as the TWA crisis was concerned the US government did set a precedent which encouraged further incidents. The hijack of the Achille Lauro less than four months later, during which incident the hijackers demanded the release of more prisoners by Israel, substantiates this.

the necessity for the authorities to display the determination, political will and a unified response against a common adversary.[202] The Reagan Administration failed to manage this principle during the TWA crisis, despite the fact that it and the Israeli government advocated identical counter-terrorist policies. The cause of this problem stemmed from their objectives of wanting to avoid the perception that a deal had being made with the hijackers.

Media speculation was a factor which not only increased the tension level of the crisis managers, but which resulted in confusion between the administration and its Israeli ally and contributed towards pre-empting their initiatives during negotiations. Inaccurate and uninformed opinions that were published inadvertently undermined negotiations.[203] For example, the statements in the media by the Israeli government over what the U.S. government needed to do in order to secure the release of the hostages created the impression that Israel and the U.S. were at odds over antiterrorist policy.[204] While this was not the case, however, both governments nontheless attempted to side-step their predicament by attempting to place the onus to compromise on one another. On June 21, a New York Times article by Bernard Gwertzman, complicated matters between the U.S. State Department and the Israeli government. The article stated that, "The Reagan Administration has told friendly governments that if the 40 American hostages are freed unconditionally by the hijackers in Beirut, Israel will follow with the release of the 766 detainees, Administration officials said today."[205] The timing and content of this report was released at a most

---

[202] See Paul Bremer III, "The West's Counter-Terrorist Strategy," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4 (Winter 1992), pp.255-262. For a brief discussion of the problems associated with collective responses to terrorism, see Paul Wilkinson, (1989), op.cit:, pp.459-460

[203] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.660

[204] Ibid., p.656

[205] See Bernard Gwertzman, New York Times, June 21, 1985

inopportune moment as negotiations between Charles Hill of the State Department, and Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israeli Ambassador to the U.S., were underway. George Schultz feared that the article would lead the Israelis to believe that the U.S. had deliberately leaked the information as a means of applying pressure upon Israel to comply.[206] Not only was this embarrassing for the administration, but it also placed Netanyahu in a tenuous position in terms of his credibility with his own government. His government had asked him when he was conveyed Schultz's overtures to the Knesset if any other U.S. government agency was involved. Netanyahu had given the assurance that no one else was, however, the press statements appeared to contradict the administration's sincerity and his credibility.

While their endeavours to avoid the perception that a precedent had been created with regard to the release of the Atlit prisoners in exchange for the TWA passengers, the U.S. - Israeli efforts almost derailed the negotiations process with the hijackers. When Nabih Berri realised that Israel intended to release the Atlit captives over several months, so as to avoid the appearance of a deal with terrorists, he was so incensed that he almost withdrew from the negotiation process.[207]

The argument that the media's approach in the crisis was an underlying cause of President Reagan's limited options in responding to the crisis is misleading.[208] The reality was that the hostages and lack of consensus within the administration effectively prevented the government from exercising any alternative. The unprecedented media coverage of the crisis introduced a new crisis management

---

[206] See George Schultz, (1993), op.cit:, p.660

[207] Israel released 31 of the Atlit prisoners on June 23 and 300 on July 3, and the remainder in small groups during early September 1985. See Stansfield Turner, (1991), op.cit:, p.193

[208] See Richard Clutterbuck, "Negotiating with Terrorists," Terrorism and Political Violence, Vol.4, No.4, 1992, p.274

principle. The only precedent that the media's behaviour created therefore was the lesson that it taught administration officials. This was that during crisis situations the co-ordination and control over information that is released to the media is essential to prevent inaccurate and uninformed statements from pre-empting initiatives and derailing bi-lateral agreements.

The crisis created a 'cognitive' precedent in the minds of the NSC staff's inner-circle, notably that of Robert McFarlane, Howard Teicher and Oliver North, who believed that the key to the resolution of the Beirut hostages lay with moderate factions within the Iranian government. This error in perception was triggered when the speaker of the Iranian parliament, Hashemi Rafsanjani intervened in the hijack crisis and travelled to Damascus together with Mohammed Mohtashemi, the former Iranian ambassador to Syria and one of the principal architects and strategists of Hizb'allah and Moshen Rafiqdust, the Minister responsible for the Pasdaran.[209] Their visit paved the way for the settlement between Berri, acting on behalf of Hizb'allah, and the U.S.[210] The significance of the Iranian secular and clerics' influence in Damascus did not go unnoticed by McFarlane.[211] Howard Teicher's relationship with Amiram Nir, an Israeli counter terrorist expert,[212] as well as the influence of NSC staff consultant, Michael Ledeen, and David Kimche[213] the former Director General of the Israeli foreign ministry, reinforced McFarlane's belief that the six Beirut hostages could possibly be released through the intervention

---

[209] See Amir Taheri, (1988), op.cit:, pp.168

[210] See Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.198-199

[211] See Walter Pincus, "Secret Talks With Iran Described," Washington Post, June 11, 1986

[212] For background on Amiram Nir, see Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, p.181

[213] See Amir Taheri, (1988), op.cit:, pp.169-174. David Kimche approached Teicher and McFarlane with the concept of Israel selling arms to Iran and Manucher Ghorbanifar's suggestion that the sale of arms to Iran could secure the release of the hostages. Despite the fact that Ghorbanifar had been declared as an untrustworthy source by the CIA, they went along with his scheme. This is another example of where the NSC staff's inner-circle blatantly ignored intelligence advice which conflicted with their policy objectives.

of Iranian 'moderates'.[214] To support his policy initiative, McFarlane requested Graham Fuller to prepare a Special National Intelligence Estimate on Iran, its precarious internal political situation, and its strategic vulnerability vis a vis Soviet expansionism in the Gulf region.[215]

The fundamental flaw in the NSC staff's strategy of their Iran-Contra operation was their clandestine operational approach which automatically placed them at a tactical disadvantage in their relationship with Iran. Where the NSC staff had to maintain secrecy over their dealings with Iran, the Iranian government was not subject to the same domestic constraints. In this instance the NSC staff displayed an exceptional degree of ignorance. They misunderstood the revolutionary nature of the Iranian regime, who understood full well the vulnerability of the American administration in this regard.[216] The NSC staff were uninformed about the general perception of the mainstream American political and bureaucratic opinion with regard to the necessity for repairing relations with Iran. They underestimated the level of public support that they could have received if they had conducted their rapproachement with Iran in the open.[217] The

---

[214] The term 'moderates' is misleading. The fact of the matter is that any moderation that was displayed by Iranian leaders was in their own mind a deliberate strategy aimed at exploiting American ignorance in their long-term goal of defeating the west. See Amir Taheri, (1988), op.cit:, p.177-180. For an overview of the rationale behind McFarlane's faulty perceptions, see Con Coughlin, (1992), op.cit:, pp.201-206. For the influence of NSC consultant Michael Ledeen over McFarlane's thinking, see the Tower Commission Report, pp.165-166

[215] See Bob Woodward, (1987), op.cit:, p.503 and John Prados, (1991), op.cit:, p.512. See also Gerald M Boyd, "Reagan Reaffirms Secrecy on Effort to Free Hostages," New York Times, November 11, 1986. This was also confirmed personally by Graham Fuller during an **interview** with the author on November 15, 1995. By his own admission Fuller states that the SNIE pointed out the dangers of the political instability within Iran and warned of the possibility that Iran could turn towards the Soviet Union. This posed a major threat to US interests in the Gulf, given the Soviet's involvement in Afghanistan at the time. The memo speculated on the possibility of selling arms to Iran as a precursor to detente between the US and the Iranian regime.

[216] For an overview of the Iranian perspective, see Ali Azad, "USA-Iran Arms Deal: The Iranian Angle," Middle East International, January 1987, pp.48-50

[217] For an explanation of the general ignorance that the NSC staff displayed and their faulty assumptions pertaining to Iran and the American public, see Amir Taheri, (1988), op.cit:, pp.175-185

principle reason why they did not have the necessary knowledge was because the NSC staff cut itself off from the intelligence community. Consequently there was no institutional mechanism to provide them with essential feedback of wider bureaucratic and public opinion. By conducting the operation in secret they shut themselves off from potential sources of advice and objectivity. To a certain extent, the NSC staff were victims of their own propaganda.

Following the numerous accusations that had been levelled by the administration that Iran was a state sponsor of international terrorism,[218] McFarlane and North assumed that the American public would find it difficult to reconcile their strategic objectives of establishing links with Iran and that it would be condemned.[219] This was an underlying reason why they embarked on a clandestine operation.[220] The NSC staff were negotiating from a position of relative weakness, given their need for secrecy and the political dangers associated was the potential exposure of their operation. The Iranian 'moderate precedent' was also doomed to failure because McFarlane and Casey linked the concept of détente with Iran to the precondition of the release of the hostages.[221] Casey's support for the inner-circle's initiative originated from his crusade to secure the release of William Buckley, and upon learning of his death

---

[218] See Alan Gerson, "Legitimizing International Terrorism: Is the Campaign Over?" in Barry Rubin (ed.), Terrorism and Politics, (London, Macmillan, 1991), p.51 and (Editorial), "Paper Says U.S. Knew Iran Paid for Beirut Blasts," Los Angeles Times, August, 11, 1986. See also the United States Senate Hearing Before The Committee On Armed Services, States Sponsored Terrorism, January 28, 1986, (Washington D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986)

[219] See Jack Nelson, "Irked by Reports of Arms Swap for Aid on Hostages," Los Angeles Times, July 11, 1986 and Stephen Engelberg, "Uproar Over Iran: What is Known and What Remains to Be Learned," New York Times, November 17, 1986

[220] Another probable reason was the link between the diversion of some of the funds from the arms payments to finance the Contras by McFarlane. See U.S. Senate Select Committee on Secret Military Assistance to Iran and the Nicaraguan Opposition, U.S. 100th Congress, 1st Session, (Washington D.C.,U.S. Government Printer, 1988.) See also Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, pp.516-517

[221] See Angus Deming and Milan J Kubic, "Cloak and Dagger," Newsweek, November 17, 1986, pp.46-53 and Doyle McManus, "Freedom for Hostages Was Top Reagan Aim, Aide Says," Los Angeles Times, November 14, 1986. Also Warren Richey, "Obsession Undid US Terrorism Policy," Christian Science Monitor, January 22, 1987

in captivity, Casey's determination to secure freedom for the remaining hostages.[222] Because the NSC staff operated in secrecy, it circumvented the traditional bureaucratic channels[223] and excluded itself from objective oversight, and from the necessary expertise in covert operations who were located within the intelligence community.[224] Although the CIA provided logistical support to the NSC staff's operation by transferring arms directly from Pentagon stocks to Iran, its analytical expertise was excluded from the planning and overview of the operation's progress.[225] The crisis and its aftermath resulted in faulty cognitive precedents and revealed the dangers that are inherent when a sector of the government isolates itself and excludes the intelligence producer from the decision making process, relegating it to its traditionalist status.

5.7 Conclusion

The TWA 847 hijacking revealed the following lessons with regard to the role and function of intelligence and the interaction of the media during crises: In the case of most crises, intelligence has either failed to provide the policy makers with the relevant warnings, or the policy makers have failed to sufficiently interpret or appreciate the implications of the intelligence at their disposal. Either way,

---

[222] See Bob Woodward and Charles Babcock, "Captive CIA Agent's Death Galvanised Hostage Search," Washington Post, November 25, 1986 and Doyle McManus and Michael Wines, "CIA Chief OK'd Agency's Role in Arms-to-Iran Deal," Los Angeles Times, February 2, 1986

[223] See George Church, Reagan's Secret Dealings With Iran," Time, November 17, 1986, Cover Story, pp.12-26. Also Dan Morgan and Charles R Babcock, "North Reprimanded on Idea to 'Neutralize' Terrorists," Washington Post, February 22, 1987, p.1A.

[224] See Jane Mayer and Doyle McManus, (1988), op.cit:, p.229 and Charles Babcock and Don Oberdorfer, "The NSC Cabal," Washington Post, June 21, 1987 and Theodore Draper, (1991), op.cit:, pp.558-559

[225] See Ed Mangnuson, "Plumbing the CIA's Shadowy Role," Time, December 22, 1986, pp.26-29 as well as Walter Pincus, "Iran Arms Cash Tied to CIA-Run Account Aiding Afghan Rebels," The Washington Post, December 3, 1986 and Pincus, "Counterterrorism Group Bypassed on Iran Deal," Washington Post, December 8, 1986

political crises are the result of a failure to identify an emerging threat. This should not be interpreted as an outright condemnation of intelligence capabilities, but rather as an observation of reality. The intelligence community cannot be expected to forecast each and every threat or future event. In the case of the TWA crisis, however, the elements of risk were present and should have been recognised. The intelligence community simply failed to identify the pattern and construct a coherent picture and threat analysis out of the events of the preceeding months. The kidnapping of the Beirut hostages between 1984 and the hijacking incident had been conducted by Hizb'allah and Mughniah as a deliberate strategy to secure the release of the al Da'wa 17 prisoners in Kuwait. Following these incidents, there had also been the hijacking of the Kuwaiti airliner which was flown to Teheran and the hijacking of the Jordanian airliner that had been destroyed at Beirut airport just two days prior to the TWA crisis.[226] The administration had also failed to recognise the determination of Hizb'allah following the kidnapping incidents of the Beirut hostages.[227] No one tasked the intelligence community with the question how that organisation could be expected to escalate its efforts? This may have been due to the fact that Hizb'allah was not perceived as a monolithic organisation at that stage, as they carried out many of their activities under various pseudonyms such as the Party of God, Islamic Jihad, Islamic Amal, al Da'wa and al Amal al Islamiyya.[228] This aspect of Hizb'allah's operational strategy

---

[226] See "Shi'ite Extremists: Who They Are and What They Want," U.S. News & World Report, June 24, 1985, p.10

[227] The intelligence community's failure in this regard has been confirmed by Noel Koch in a **telephone interview** on February 21, 1996 and by John Walcott during an **interview** on July 17, 1995.

[228] See John L Esposito, The Islamic Threat, Myth or Reality?," (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992), pp.146-151 and Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, pp.64-67. According to Ranstorp, the composite organisations of Hizb'allah must be understood within the context of its strategy of achieving rapid growth . To do this, Hizb'allah used the natural source of working within the existing framework of existing radical Shi'ite organisations and religious institutions. Sheikh Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual leader commanded a large following throughout the disparate Shi'ite organisations who automatically lend their support to Hizb'allah as he became its spiritual leader. See Also Martin Kramer, "The Pan-Islamic Premise of Hizb'allah," in David Ben Menashri, (ed.), The Iranian Revolution and

effectively confused their enemies and prevented the intelligence community not only from identifying the head of the octopus, but from also determining what its objectives were. In this instance tasking failure occurred at the policy making level and at the management level of the intelligence community because of the lack of comprehension with regard to who the adversary was and what their objectives were.

It has been mentioned before that the intelligence community focused its collection priorities on identifying the location of the hostages and in seeking out potential targets for retaliation. The failure by intelligence managers and the decision makers to grasp the overall picture resulted in analytical resources being incorrectly directed. They were kept focused on identifying the hostages' locations and on devising contingency plans to rescue them and punish the perpetrators. This was done at the expense of studying the macro situation in Lebanon and Hizb'allah's role in the overall picture. Compounding their analysis was the fact that it was difficult to identify Hizb'allah as a monolithic organisation and that at the best of times, the successful penetration of terrorist groups is a rare achievement, a factor that frustrates intelligence collection.[229] Difficult as it was to gather intelligence information during the normal course of events in Lebanon, expectations for the intelligence community to perform adequately during the circumstances of the TWA crisis were unrealistic.

It follows that if intelligence tasking is flawed then analysis is also prone to failure. The TWA crisis was no exception to this rule and the analytical endeavours of the intelligence community suffered due to incorrect tasking. Concomitant with the administration's frustration with Iran and Syria, was their dependence upon these two actors for

---

the Muslim World, (Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1990), p.122

[229] See Simon Shapira, "The Origins of Hizb'allah," Jerusalem Quarterly, Vol.46, (Spring 1988), pp.115-130

geostrategic reasons. Furthermore, the prospects for retaliation against either Syria and Iran were fraught with security and political risks that therefore effectively ruled out this option.[230] In its efforts to uphold its credibility and to strike back at the phenomenon of terrorism, the administration, through the NSC staff, focused its efforts and capabilities on Libya, who was considered an easier target.[231] This diverted intelligence resources from Lebanon which in turn diminished their analytical capacity. Of greater significance, however, was the intelligence community's poor performance preceeding the crisis which undermined its credibility as an adequate instrument of warning. What little influence it exercised in the policy-making arena was lost and the media filled the void, remaining ahead all the time. Ultimately it was the media who elevated the crisis to its presidential level and steered the agenda speculating over how the administration was going to respond to the situation and by fielding the debate over the use of military force against the hijackers. Although the intelligence community should have exerted greater influence in the crisis deliberations in order to counteract the influence of the media on the policy makers, this was not possible given the barriers that prevailed between the CIA and the White House. The relationship between the intelligence community and the NSC staff, who decided what policy should be and then implemented it, was neither close nor reciprocal.

Closer to home, criticism of and the attacks against the media in the wake of the crisis, were symptoms of a frustrated administration in search of a scapegoat. The government could not admit that Hizb'allah had planned and conducted a successful strategy

---

[230] See Brian M Jenkins for an appraisal of the various factors which prevented the U.S. from retaliating against Syria and Iran. Although Jenkins points out that retaliation against Libya was not without risk, in comparison to Syria and Iran, Libya was perceived as the target which held considerably less danger. Jenkins, (1988), op.cit:, pp.186-187

[231] Vincent Cannistraro, **interview**, on July 21, 1995, McLean Virginia. Also see Charles G Cogan, "The Response of the Strong to the Weak: The American raid on Libya, 1986," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.6, No.3, (1991), pp.608-620

throughout the TWA crisis. Despite the thin veneer of pretence and semantic manipulation by the Israeli and the U.S. governments that the release of the hostages and the Atlit prisoners were not related, Hizb'allah had succeeded in forcing the two allies to clash with one another in public.[232] Both were forced to compromise on their publicised anti-terrorist policies. The hijackers had successfully exploited and manipulated the media. They also achieved the ultimate use of the hostages when their spokesman, Allyn Conwell, expressed support for Hizb'allah's demands.[233]

There were other lessons to be learnt from the crisis. The hijacking of TWA 847 differed from most other aircraft-hostage and barricade situations in that the circumstances did not allow for the aircraft to be immobilised on the ground in favourable territory. This contributed towards denying the U.S. of the option of using force. Owing to the state of near anarchy that prevailed in Lebanon and the factionalism in its government, the Lebanese authorities were unable to intervene. The government did not wield any control or authority over Beirut airport.[234] In this instance it paved the way for the original two hijackers to be reinforced by a larger group of Shi'ite militias at Beirut airport. Hizb'allah and Amal's strategy of removing the hostages from the aircraft and holding them at undisclosed and numerous locations, prevented the U.S. from launching any rescue missions, let alone conducting any retaliation. Because no military solution was feasible, the application of diplomacy backed up by the threat of force by the U.S. remained impossible. Hizb'allah's

---

[232] See Thomas L Friedman, "Israelis Appear Angered By Subtle U.S. Pressure," New York Times, June 21, 1985 and Thomas L Friedman, "The Quandry for Israel," New York Times, June 22, 1985 and Bernard Gwertzman, "Schultz and Peres Agree to oppose Shi'ites' Demands and Speak to Ease Tensions," New York Times, June 22, 1985

[233] For the controversy over some of the statements made by Allyn Conwell in support of the hijackers, see Mark Whittaker and John Walcott, "Diplomacy By Carrot and Stick," Newsweek, July 15, 1985, p.20

[234] The extent of the factionalism within the Lebanese government is demonstrated by the fact that at the time of the hijacking, Nabih Berri's Amal militia controlled it. Berri who was also the Lebanese Minister of Justice, however, refused to act in his capacity as a government official and used the situation to further the interests of his own party instead.

involvement of Amal, Nabih Berri and the Syrian government to negotiate on its behalf, was an astute move on its part that also contributed towards maintaining media momentum and public interest. For all the parties involved on the side of the hijackers, the outcome had positive effects. The main objective to humiliate Israel and the United States and to undermine their relationship succeeded.[235] Hizb'allah secured the release of the 700 Atlit prisoners which was a propaganda victory that undermined Israeli support in the U.S. The hijacking again underlined the effectiveness of hostage-taking as an instrument of coercion against the United States. The Islamic Fundamentalists recognised the potential of this strategy when used against western targets, particularly in the light of the difference in value that they placed on human life in comparison to their western adversaries, which they successfully manipulated.[236]

The media who elevated the crisis high on the public agenda influenced the American public to view the crisis in the short term and within a highly emotional context. This induced the administration to respond to the situation within at a pace that was maintained by the media's 'analysts' and that detracted from longer-term strategic goals. Media hype ensured that the crisis enjoyed a high profile that demanded the attention of the administration's most senior officials and the president[237]. This kept the hostage issue at the top of the political agenda for the duration of the crisis.

On the international front the administration found itself at odds with its most important ally in the region and in contradiction with its own and Israel's counter-terrorist policy. This dilemma became particularly acute as the realisation set in that there was no alternative. Even if the situation had favoured the use of military

---

[235] See the editorial, "Unfinished Business," New Republic, July 29, 1985

[236] See Amir Taheri, (1987), op.cit:, p.197

[237] For an overview of the effects of media hype, see J Yardley, "Hype and the Manufacturing of News," Manchester Guardian Weekly, No. 128, May 22, 1983, pp. 7-18

force, the lack of confidence by the Pentagon in the use of the military in non-conventional operations may have prevented its use. The administration's anti-terrorist policy was further undermined when it was compelled to seek the assistance of Syria and Iran, countries that it had already identified as being state sponsors of terrorism. For an administration that had been elected on the promise that it would not allow itself to be held to ransom by terrorists, the crisis had exactly that effect. The bankruptcy behind the administration's rhetoric was exposed to reveal the emptiness of American threats. The administration learned once again that there was a difference between declaring war against terrorism and actually fighting it.[238]

Perhaps the most significant outcome of the TWA hijacking was the interaction between Syria, Amal, Hizb'allah and Iran that led the administration to believe that the key to unlocking the hostage crisis lay almost exclusively with moderate elements in the Iranian government.[239] The view of key officials, notably the NSC staff, demonstrate an oversimplified perception of the complexities and dynamics of Hizb'allah and the relationship between that organisation and its patrons.[240] One of the fundamental flaws was their belief that the 'moderate' elements in the Iranian regime could exercise influence over the Iranian officials who supported Hizb'allah which was responsible for the kidnapping strategy against the west.[241] Even if moderate individuals existed, the reality was that they simply had no control over the radicals. For it was essentially the radicals who were sufficiently confident to challenge the U.S. and kidnap its citizens without fear of reprisal.[242] The same ignorance prevailed with

---

[238] Brian M Jenkins, (1988), op.cit:, p.185

[239] See Howard Teicher, (1993), op.cit:, pp.334-335

[240] Ibid.p.361, see also Magnus Ranstorp, (1994), op.cit:, p.270

[241] See Sara Fritz and Karen Tumulty, "Iran Radicals Tricked U.S., Inquiry Finds," Los Angeles Times, November 19, 1987

[242] Amir Taheri, (1987), op.cit:, p.177

regard to the NSC staff's perception of American public opinion with regard to its geostrategic objectives in the region and relations with Iran. The assumption prevailed within the NSC staff that given the recent history of American - Iranian relations, the public would fail to appreciate the reasons behind the administration's change in attitude towards Iran. The Iranian revolution, the siege of the U.S. embassy in Teheran and the fact that the administration had implicated Iran in the bomb attacks against its embassies and the Marine barracks, had all contributed to the public perception of Iran as an enemy of the U.S. Not only did the NSC staff fail to test this assumption and seek public support for its strategy, but it also failed to inform the rest of the administration and the intelligence community that it was persuing this initiative. Later in 1985 the hijacking of the Achille Lauro and the bombing of the La Belle discotheque in Germany in 1986, increased the administration's frustration and the need to its restore its credibility in responding to terrorism.[243] This resulted in the U.S. attack against Libya in 1986, and led Libya's retaliation and the unfortunate event in December 1988 when Pan Am Flight 103 was blown up in the sky over Lockerbie.[244]

---

[243] See Grant Wardlaw, (1989), op.cit:, p.154

[244] The reasons behind the attack against Libya and Qadaffi's response with the Lockerbie bombing were explained by Vincent Cannistraro the former Pentagon counter-terrorist officer who was responsible for the planning of the U.S. retaliatory raid against Libyain an **interview** with the author on July 21, 1995, McLean Virginia. Also see Bruce W Nelan, "Freedom is the Best Revenge," Time, December 16, 1991, p.32. These sentiments were expressed by Vincent Cannistraro.

Chapter 6.

CONCLUSION

> The reason why the enlightened prince and the wise general conquer the enemy whenever they move and their achievements surpass those of ordinary men is foreknowledge.
>
> ---Sun Tzu, The Art of War

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has examind the relationship between intelligence and crisis management. It provides a methodological approach that analyses the function of intelligence in crisis management and examines the dynamics and factors which shape and influence the the tasking, analysis and communication of intelligence towards an understanding of the producer - consumer dichotomy. Accordingly a framework is provided with which to facilitate the combined study of the intelligence process within the principles of crisis management. This integrated analysis yields new and valuable insights into the intelligence analysis process on both an individual and the institutional levels. It explains the interactive role that intelligence plays in crisis management and reveals the negative consequences when intelligence analysis and crisis decision making are attempted in isolation from one another.

In answering the questions raised in chapter one of this thesis, and given the inadequacies of the intelligence cycle model as revealed in this study, an alternative paradigm is proposed. The new model reflects the shift in the location of intelligence analysis, the importance of communication, the interaction between the producer and consumer and the influence of the media and the public within the crisis dynamic. All of the above have been found to affect the analysis - crisis decision making process. This is illustrated by the

following key conclusions derived from this study. This chapter examines the most important findings on the function of intelligence during crisis management, the producer - consumer relationship, and the traditionalist versus activist dichotomy. Finally it offers a critical introspection of its shortcomings and makes suggestions for further research in this field.

6.2 Findings of the empirical data

Traditionally the intelligence imperative has been treated as a separate crisis management principle. Intelligence is a vital support activity throughout crisis management as its function and necessity have been demonstrated. This study has shown that intelligence can not be treated as a separate principle in isolation from the other crisis management principles. To treat intelligence as subordinate or as a stand-alone function is to debase its significance and importance as a fundamental and essential ingredient.

Intelligence theory holds that its function is to scan the political system's environment towards identifying threats and opportunities so that a realistic determination of objectives can be made. When tested against the Reagan Administration's experiences with terrorism in Lebanon between 1983 and 1985, this principle failed. The reasons for this failure are twofold. One was the breakdown in the producer - consumer relationship between the CIA and the White House. In this instance, the rejection of the Agency's analysis by key NSC staff individuals reinforced the traditionalist approach and the bureaucratic barrier that prevailed between analysts, the decision makers and those who were responsible for implementing policy initiatives. This problem was compounded by the fact that policy making was taking place at the wrong level in the administration - which was a consequence of the second reason. This was the

Reagan Administration's incohesive and poorly managed decision making process, an institutional problem that prevailed during President Reagan's tenure. Both of these reasons can be attributed to the influence of individual actors, starting with President Reagan and then by his senior cabinet officers such as, Schultz, Weinberger, Casey and McFarlane. This also filtered down to lower levels in the administration with individuals such as Teicher, Fuller and Lt.Col North. Furthermore, institutional and organisational incompatibilities, such as the rivalry between the CIA and the NSC staff and the latter's supremacy over the intelligence community also contributed to the failure of intelligence. The result was that when the White House tasked the intelligence community, intelligence analysis and estimates were requested in support of preconceived policy initiatives rather than for information that was to form the basis of sound decision making.

This study has revealed that where existing policies demand support from the intelligence community and are treated as a priority, as demonstrated in the case of Haig and Casey's demand for an SNIE on the Soviet Union and international terrorism, intelligence tasking by the consumer tends to steer analysis on a narrow cognitive band that can result in its politicisation. This reveals that specific tasking can inhibit wider environmental scanning and lateral thinking. The study has demonstrated how when intelligence is used on a selective basis to support preconceived policy objectives, rather than as an instrument towards ascertaining which objectives are realistically feasible, the consequences are likely to precipitate a crisis or policy failure. This was witnessed by the Iran Affair and the NSC staff's failure to test or question the information and the assumptions that moderate elements in the Iranian government were capable of exercising control over Hizb'allah. This was also true with regard to their failure to make the change in their policy toward Iran known and then consequently, to gauge public opinion over this

change in strategy. Furthermore, instead of limiting its objectives, the Reagan Administration made the mistake of attempting to link three issues to one another. In this instance they tried to improve their relationship with Iran, contain Soviet influence in the region and secure the release of the hostages, all in the same initiative. Lt. Col. Oliver North took this to the extreme when he linked the Iran Affair to the Contra operation by diverting some of the profits of the arms sales to fund the Contras.

Not only did the administration fail to limit its objectives, it also failed to perceive the objectives of its adversaries and in particular those of smaller states and non-state actors. This study demonstrated the tendency of the Reagan Administration to disregard and underestimate the objectives of smaller actors within the international system, or of those who were perceived to be weaker. Their error can be attributed to the Cold War ethos that prevailed at the time and the belief that all things not related to measuring and responding to Soviet capabilities and intentions were of lesser importance. This manifests itself during the incidents in the time period under review by the Reagan Administration's underestimation of the determination of Syria and Hizb'allah to remove the American presence from Lebanon. Whereas both Syria and Hizb'allah shared the same objectives to drive the U.S. from Lebanon, each had different reasons. For Syria, its objective was to remove western influence from Lebanon. As the leading country among the multi-national peacekeeping force that Syria regarded as a threat to its interests in Lebanon, the U.S. represented western influence and was Syria's principal enemy and target. For Hizb'allah, its war against the U.S. was a logical extension of the ideological struggle between America and Iran. This study is significant in that it demonstrates the importance of intelligence at the geo-strategic level. In the changing international environment where conflict between warring factions within states and civil wars have replaced

the concerns of the Cold War, it is important to understand the motives and objectives of sub-state actors.

The principle of limiting the means employed in the pursuit of crisis objectives had a greater and direct significance for the administration than it had for America's adversaries as seen by the Reagan Administration's inability to use military force against the TWA hijackers. The Reagan Administration was not in any viable position to consider response options which involved the use of force as was demonstrated in the previous case study. Its intellectual and physical capabilities were simply not equipped to deal with the problem of responding to crises that were played out in civil war environments where adversaries did not share American moral values. This was especially true with regard to the civil war environment of Lebanon that encapsulated all the dimensions of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to which the external involvement by several ideological foes of the U.S. were included. For example, Hizb'allah terrorists employed strategies which manipulated American sentiments and enticed the U.S. government to respond in a manner that would have imperilled their democratic principles and caused them to compromise their legitimacy. The Reagan Administration, moreover, failed therefore to anticipate how Hizb'allah and its patron states in the region used terrorism as an effective strategy against its foreign policy objectives in Lebanon and the complex dynamics and relationships that existed between that organisation, Syria and Iran. Hence the function of intelligence with regard to limiting the means of crisis response is interwoven with the principle of legitimacy.

It is also evident that with regard to terrorist type crises, tasking the intelligence community to provide information for prosecution purposes can introduce tension between it and policy makers over the utilisation of intelligence. Policy makers have two expectations with regard to intelligence support against terrorism. The first is to provide warnings and pre-empt attacks, while the second

requirement is to provide evidence of culpability for the prosecution of the perpetrators. The crux of this problem is that while policy makers are concerned with using intelligence to justify their actions, intelligence seeks to protect its sources and methods of operation from disclosure. This conflict in demand places the intelligence community's ability to conduct strategic intelligence in jeopardy, in order to satisfy the policy makers' demands for intelligence to support tactical measures and response. Longer term interests tend to be sacrificed in the interest of immediate solutions.

Whereas this study has alluded to the above problem, it has also revealed that, for legitimacy to work, intelligence must operate on a more proactive level. It is the intelligence community's responsibility to exercise greater initiative and flexibility in searching for avenues that can enhance the legitimacy of the authorities when dealing with terrorism. Within democracies and in relation to hostage situations, negotiation is often the only possible solution. Where negotiation becomes an inevitable part of the counter terrorist strategy, intelligence has an important role to play in the process. This is not only because negotiation affords a course of action that can minimise violence, but is in many instances the only viable option, as the last case study so aptly demonstrated. Intelligence collection and analysis can greatly facilitate negotiation by identifying and analysing the ideological ethos of the adversary and to suggest issues to the policy makers which can be used as points of common interest as a manner of initiating and coaxing the adversary towards negotiations.

The case studies have revealed that the traditionalist discipline, which was responsible for preserving the distance between the producers and consumers, contributed towards creating unrealistic expectations of the capabilities of the intelligence organisation. This was demonstrated by the NSC staff's frustration over the CIA's inability to provide it with information pertaining to the exact location of the hostages in Lebanon. Cognitive and moral restraints

notwithstanding, the intelligence community suffered from a distinct disadvantage of having to operate in a hostile environment that required significant humint in addition to techint capabilities. In addition to their limited humint capabilities, they failed to preserve and protect the limited intelligence assets that they were able to build up and command in Lebanon after the death of Ames and Haas, by failing to enforce adequate security measures to protect William Buckley.

The traditionalist discipline, however, is not an ideal approach in the management of the intelligence producer - consumer relationship. A fundamental reason for this argument is the barrier that this discipline creates that tends to inhibit mutual trust and communication between them. To meet their responsibilities in supporting the policy maker, intelligence analysts need to be experts in not only substantive issues of national interest, but also in the self interest of policy professionals by providing specialised analytical support. Once they have displayed their ability to provide personal support, policy makers will be more inclined to share their agendas with analysts. In establishing crisis management capabilities, intelligence needs to adopt an activist role in the relationship so that the intelligence community can learn decision makers' policy preferences. A more reciprocal relationship will also enable decision makers to gain an insight into the specific capabilities and the operational limitations of the intelligence community. This will enable them to compare the base line of the consumer and that of the adversary so that the common ground between adversaries, which is the precursor to negotiations, can be ascertained. The common ground of negotiations embodies three questions which ask; 'Why are we here?', 'What do we agree on?' and What is keeping us apart?'. The function of intelligence is to identify these issues and present them to the policy maker in the form of opportunity analysis that thereby empowers their crisis management capabilities.

The study has demonstrated that in seeking legitimacy while simultaneously trying to deny the same to an adversary, governments risk losing their integrity. By claiming exclusive legitimacy, one runs the risk of losing moral integrity because impartial judgement is abandoned. This tension is inherent in negotiations with terrorist adversaries. Indeed governments make this crucial mistake when entering into negotiations with terrorists. For instance, in another arena, the British government's demand that the IRA surrender its weapons before it will be admitted to the conference table, is to deny that organisation the source of its strength, which it derives from the armed struggle. Parties who enter into negotiations seek to do so from a position of maximum strength. For terrorists the source of their power stems from their power of coercion in exploiting the publicity. Where incumbent authorities do not comprehend this, it is the responsibility of the intelligence community to point this out to them and to enlighten the crisis management team in the philosophy of terrorism and negotiation.

The role that intelligence plays in creating crisis contingency capabilities has also been explained. The value of readily available information on the capabilities and intentions of an adversary, or a specific subject field during a crisis, should not be underestimated. The significance of contingency planning is also realised in the contribution that it makes towards game theory. Not only does game theory and contingency planning help towards identifying operational problems, but the latter activity acts as a powerful stimulant for intelligence tasking in that it can identify questions for which there are no answers, thereby stimulating lateral thinking and producing possible solutions to potential problems. There is no evidence that the intelligence community nor the NSC staff engaged in game theory in order to test their assumptions or to gain an insight into the possible intentions of their adversaries in Lebanon. Had they done so they may have identified Hizb'allah's determination to force the U.S.

out of Lebanon and their possible course of action. In this instance given the NSC staff's tendency to ignore the intelligence community, it is evident that contingency planning and game theory should be conducted at the decision makers' level.

However, the study has revealed that no amount of contingency planning can redress the problem of indecisive leadership. This was demonstrated by President Reagan's incoherent management style. Irrespective of whether intelligence is applied in accordance with traditionalist or activist principles, it will have little affect on crisis management in the absence of decisive decision making. This reinforces the observation that sound intelligence is no guarantor of sound decisions. The full potential of intelligence can only be realised if clear lines of authority have been established and if prompt and unfettered lines of communication exist. This is the least that is necessary to facilitate conditions conducive towards establishing a rapport between producers and consumers so that decision makers take note of intelligence. The establishment of crisis contingency capabilities help to identify where these problems do and can occur so that potential problem areas can be avoided in advance.

The study has revealed that communication is a multidimensional factor in intelligence and crisis management. It is crucial to the efficient flow of information between the intelligence community and the decision makers. The timing and the manner in which intelligence is conveyed is crucial to its receptiveness. For it is not so much what intelligence says, but the manner in which the decision maker responds that will determine the success of intelligence. The case studies demonstrated that where the traditionalist approach is maintained the opinions of the intelligence analysts are more prone to being disregarded by the decision makers. Communication therefore should be regarded as more than just a transport medium between analysts and consumers. It must embody the efforts by the

intelligence community to foster a healthy relationship that is based on mutual trust between them and that maximises the receptivity of the decision maker to their product.

Communication is also essential between the crisis management team and their adversaries and is important in harnessing the support and co-operation of allies. Similarly, communication is necessary in acquiring the understanding, support and legitimacy for crisis response activities among the electorate. Of greater significance, however, is the ability to manage the content and timing of communications. This is not an easy task as the tension between the administration and the media during the TWA crisis demonstrated when the media announced that a deal had been worked out between Schultz and Peres over the release of the Atlit prisoners.

The interaction of intelligence with communication occurs on two levels. Of primary importance for intelligence is to avoid a situation where the media usurps its role as the most important source of information and persuasion. This occurred most prominently in the TWA crisis when the media not only provided on the spot information for the decision makers, but shaped the administration's response as it reacted to public expectations which were shaped by the media. This argument does not imply that intelligence will ever reach that stage where it can compete with the media as a source of real time information during crises. What it does imply is that the intelligence community must secure its position as the greater influential actor in the crisis decision making process. This can only be achieved if the intelligence community adopts a more activist approach with limitations.

On a tactical level intelligence must function as a support mechanism to the CMT in establishing communication with their adversaries. Prior to initiating negotiations during a hostage crisis, it is essential to know who among the adversaries has the authority to make decisions and what the motivating factors behind those

decisions are likely to be. In relation to communications with allies, it is important for crisis managers to know which interests and objectives will influence an ally's support during the crisis. Understanding an ally's objectives and motives will assist towards planning crisis response strategies that will avoid creating precedents and tension between friendly states.

The function of intelligence with regard to precedents is to act as an institutional memory for crisis managers during those circumstances where the stress induced by the crisis may cause them to ignore or disregard existing agreements and long-term strategic objectives. It is the duty of intelligence analysts to preserve strategic and long term objectives as far as possible over tactical and short term solutions. However, it is necessary to maintain a healthy balance between entrenched mind-set and new ideas. Intelligence should not allow existing precedents to inhibit lateral thinking and from proposing 'radical' solutions to problems. This occurred when the Reagan Administration stuck to its policy of no negotiations with terrorists during the TWA as well as the Beirut hostage crises which inhibited them from initiating discussions with Hizb'allah's leaders directly. Another factor that precluded the possibility of negotiations between the U.S. and Hizb'allah, was the CIA's alleged involvement in the failed assassination attempt against Sheikh Fadlallah, the spiritual leader of that organisation. The key to improved lateral thinking by the intelligence community does not lie in the ability of its analysts to come up with new ideas, as much as it depends upon the willingness of the decision makers to listen to and accept their suggestions. This cannot take place in circumstances where analysis and policy making are separated into two independent functions. The producer - consumer relationship is dependent upon synthesis to make it work.

6.2.1 The intelligence producer - consumer relationship:

This research has shown that it is wrong to compartmentalise analysis and decision making into separate and independent spheres of activity as advocated by the traditionalist approach. Consequently it has demonstrated the need for a new approach to the producer - consumer relationship which excludes the traditionalist methodology of looking at the relationship through two separate lenses. Analysis and decision making are mutually interdependent. The intersection of these two spheres is the interface between the two activities. Transforming this concept into tangible reality is usually achieved through the establishment of a national security co-ordinating mechanism such as, in the case of the United States, the National Security Council staff. In the case of the Reagan Administration and the Iran initiative, however, the decision making sphere operated in isolation of the analytical sphere with its negative consequences. It is essential to recognise the role of the NSC staff, particularly during crises and to consider the manner in which it should be organised and take instructions from policy makers, in future. It is the composition and organisation structure of this interface that provides the link between analysts and policy makers, that needs to be addressed.

Co-operation between policy makers and intelligence analyst-managers is essential to ensure the effective tasking of the intelligence community and the evaluation of intelligence products in context of policy objectives. This can only succeed, however, if there is consistency between the producer - consumer approaches at all levels throughout the bureaucracy. Consequently, there can be no place for traditionalist principles in crisis management because this discipline cannot be implemented with any guarantee of success. The activist approach arguably promotes closer interaction between intelligence analysts, managers and decision makers. This, however,

is subject to a clear line of authority and the existence of coherent policy which must be made known and communicated throughout the chain of command.

In real life, however, the intelligence community is driven by the priorities that are set for it by decision makers and ultimately the President, who demand answers to immediate problems. These priorities tend to change as the decision maker responds from crisis to crisis. This places a greater demand for short term analysis rather than strategic estimates. The intelligence community hardly responds with exotic tradecraft, but rather as most other bureaucracies. The intelligence organisations are vast bodies controlled and steered by a small nuclei of individuals situated in the White House. Concerns expressed during meetings by these top decision makers produce reverberations throughout the intelligence community. In most cases this results in directors and managers summoning division chiefs who, in turn, cable station chiefs, who summons case officers, who mobilise assets and agents until the whole apparatus has been mobilised to respond to an issue that has probably long since been forgotten as decision makers move on to the next priority issue.

We have seen how under the Reagan Administration, the intelligence community adhered to and functioned according to the traditionalist discipline. Within this operational doctrine there was persistent tension. This stress had its origins in the polarisation between a traditionalist CIA and an activist Director of Central Intelligence, William Casey. At a higher level, it was amplified by the unique behaviour of the National Security Advisor, Robert McFarlane, and the National Security Council staff. In contrast to the intelligence community, this external group, which provides the intelligence producer - consumer interface, operated in accordance with activist principles. The NSC also functioned simultaneously as the crisis management mechanism. Its modus operandi created and sustained doctrinal and behavioural incompatibility between the

intelligence community and the ultimate consumers, notably the President of the United States and his National Security Council members, who both institutional bodies were meant to serve.

Neither the intelligence community nor the policy makers can be analysed from the unidimensional perspective of two separate spheres of activity. The Kent-Kendall debate and the producer - consumer dichotomy tends to polarise the argument and simplify it into two definitive activities. This is misleading since the function of intelligence is to serve as a support mechanism to policy making and unless the problem is examined in terms of its full complexity, which includes all the producer - consumer interfaces, no accurate perspective will be forthcoming. In this instance, however, the NSA and NSC staff operated beyond their traditional norms. The NSA, which was supposed to act as an honest broker between the principle cabinet members and ensure that the President was the recipient of all the viewpoints of the intelligence community, acted beyond this brief. Robert McFarlane not only helped to present policy options, but he even went so far as to interpret political objectives and to formulate and implement policy. Under his stewardship, the NSC staff went beyond their responsibility of co-ordinating and assisting the executive in implementing policy. Instead it resorted to formulating policy directly and covertly. This secret approach to policy making effectively excluded the wider administration and the intelligence community from policy deliberations and reinforced traditionalist behaviour. Most significantly, however, their covert activity created a situation where the location for intelligence analysis was effectively transferred from the domain of the professional intelligence community to that of the crisis management team. These operational and bureaucratic abnormalities in the NSC staff caused the producer - consumer interface to malfunction. Instead of being the link, it became a self-serving body, usurping both the function of intelligence analyst and policy maker.

The NSA and NSC staff were not entirely to blame, however. This abnormality was born out of the ambiguous and incohesive management style of the President and divergent and conflicting institutional interests of his two principle cabinet officers, the Secretary of State and the Secretary of Defence. It created a leadership vacuum, which ambitious individuals such as the National Security Advisor, Robert McFarlane, and within the NSC staff, such as Lt.Col. Oliver North, were quick to fill. The result that policy objectives were determined at the level of those who were responsible for its implementation instead of by the policy makers themselves. The reality was that the President of the United States and his Cabinet abdicated their responsibility.

The case studies have shown that within the producer - consumer relationship, individuals play a key role and their behaviour influences the relationship between these two institutional bodies. What little policy direction that existed was to be found in the administration's pre-cast counter terrorist principles that defined response parameters. This in turn, dictated the cognitive boundaries within which intelligence analysis was applied. The traditionalist doctrine exercised by the intelligence community inhibited lateral thinking. The result was that no re-appraisal was applied to the immediate problems of terrorism in context of U.S. strategic interests in Lebanon and elsewhere. Decision makers and analysts continued to think in terms of global strategic policy and failed to recognise the emerging trend of sub-state conflict and consider its implications for U.S. policy.

6.2.2. The traditionalist versus activist dichotomy:

The traditionalist discipline militates against analysts questioning policy. Crisis response tends to steer intelligence tasking and demands for analysis to support response strategies and plans which are focused on the immediate. The consequence is that longer term strategic overview is suppressed. The traditionalist approach inhibits feedback to the crisis management team and the policy makers. Feedback is essential but breaks down when distance between the producer and consumer is the order of the day. This undermines perpetual scanning of the environment and rapid reaction to situational variables. It inhibits policy adjustments by the decision makers and the adaptation of rules of engagement or standard operating procedures at the executive level in response to situational dynamics.

In the absence of guidance, definitive policy and the influence of the intelligence community on the decision making process, the government can lose the initiative. It can find itself responding to external influences such as the media and public opinion. The demand for a forceful response to international terrorism is what compelled the Reagan Administration to appease a public desire for revenge and act against Libya. It was an effort to uphold U.S. credibility which increased the threshold of violence and resulted in another act of terrorism, i.e. the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. This demonstrates the risks involved when short term and popular sentiments are allowed to influence the policy agenda and analysis and the dangers involved when sensational media coverage and reporting tends to focus public interest on short term objectives and emotive ideals. With the authorities having to respond to emotional, rather than focusing on strategic issues, intelligence tasking detracts analysis from concentrating on longer term and wider issues. The communication of facts together with opinion tends to carry more

weight and exert a greater influence over decision making than the mere conveyance and reporting of facts by the intelligence community. The traditionalist discipline which precludes analysis from voicing opinion, places the intelligence community at a disadvantage in relation to the media who do not refrain from making their opinion known. The freedom to state their point of view combined with greater accessibility to crisis incidents, empowers the media and enables it to replace the intelligence community as a primary source of raw intelligence and influence during crises. Although the media provides a vital information service to the consumer during a crisis, its tendency to bombard its recipients contributes to 'noise'. This can undermine the communication and reception of select and vital information by the consumer. Quantity which replaces quality and detailed information tends to blunten its impact and erodes the significance of indicators and warning.

In this instance the study has demonstrated the complexities in the producer - consumer relationship and just how complicated it becomes when elements of both the traditionalist and activist approaches prevail simultaneously. The activist behaviour of the NSA and the NSC staff complicated matters when they functioned as the interface between the intelligence and the decision making communities. The crux of the problem was that while the intelligence community and the policy makers maintained a traditionalist relationship, their interface mechanism operated on an activist basis which thus proved mutually exclusive. This study therefore has demonstrated that not only does the traditionalist discipline of intelligence inhibit interaction between analysts and policy makers, but where both the traditionalist and the activist approaches are practised within one political system, that the system will malfunction.

This situation is exacerbated and can be disastrous in the absence of policy direction and objectives which had not been defined and formulated at the appropriate senior level. The behaviour of the NSA and the NSC staff reveals the dangers when the activist approach is not adequately managed. President Reagan's management style and the lack of unity among his principle cabinet officers encouraged the activist excesses and a level of adventureism that exceeded legitimacy. In the absence of decisions emanating from the top, the NSA and the NSC staff seized the initiative. They formulated, distorted and then implemented policy at the exclusion of objective oversight.

This study has shown that the application of the intelligence cycle as a theoretical model towards the understanding of the function of intelligence is inadequate because when examined on its own it, is a static concept that fails to relate to any application. The intelligence cycle as it stands fails to illustrate the interface between intelligence and policy making. Towards a better understanding of this process and relationship, the following paradigm is offered.

6.3. Towards a new intelligence paradigm

A new model of the intelligence cycle and its processes must reflect the environment in which it operates or suffer the criticism that it is nothing more than a static concept and meaningless in the absence of any indication of its application to the system that it is designed to support. Similarly, the paradigm must also demonstrate extraneous factors which influence its performance and with which it competes in the system. In addition to demonstrating the system dynamics, the paradigm should also contribute towards illustrating where producer - consumer interaction takes place. In the following diagram, this area of interaction is indicated where the crisis

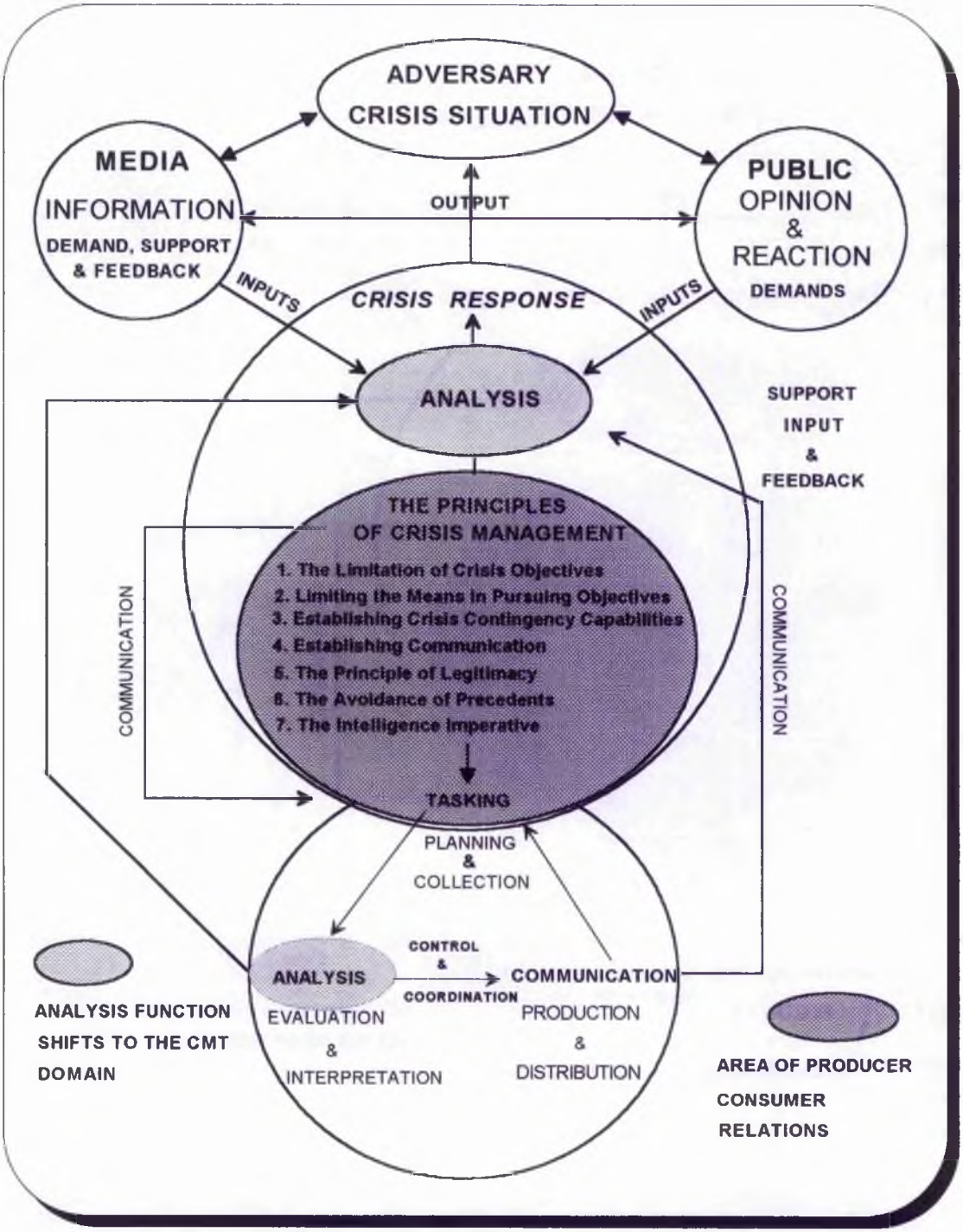
management team and the intelligence cycle intersect. At this stage in the process, intelligence tasking and planning occurs. It is here that the collection of data requirements is assigned to the relevant collection agencies and departments. The next step in the process is collection where the data and information is gathered using various means and assets at the intelligence community's disposal. The raw intelligence information is then processed through the evaluation and interpretation stages which are essential towards analysis. The analysis process involves the comparison of the new data with existing data and judgements pertaining to the facts and their meaning are made. The analysis is then converted into standard format whereby it can be recognised as an intelligence product during the production phase.

The communication of intelligence is implemented when the products are distributed to the consumer according to their requirements and in accordance with the need to know principle. This is a responsibility that is exercised by the intelligence managers who should be aware of the requirements of the consumers and who must exercise control over access to classified intelligence in the protection of intelligence assets and methods. Throughout the process, control and co-ordination is exercised by the intelligence managers who ensure that the communication flow is unimpeded. The intelligence community is not the sole source of support input into the analysis and crisis response system. It competes with the media which is a source of real time and raw information. The media also act as a source of demand and support input by publishing the opinions of editors and experts.

Public opinion and reaction to the crisis and the authorities actions have an impact upon the scope and content of media reports and also the decision making and the intelligence analysis processes, where they contribute as demand inputs. Because the analysis and communication processes are time consuming, the

tendency develops for the analysis function to undergo a shift from the domain of the intelligence cycle to the crisis response team. While this is reflected in the paradigm, it is not the intention to advocate this approach, but merely to reflect the reality of the process more accurately. In addition, analysis irrespective of where it takes place, should be influenced by the generic principles of crisis management. While the author acknowledges the fact that it is preferable to present simplistic models, this is somewhat difficult in this case given the numerous factors that must be shown if a true reflection of the interaction between intelligence, crisis management, the public and the media are to be represented. The proposed paradigm is illustrated overleaf.

The Intelligence Producer - Consumer Relationship During Crises



6.4 Self critique

Within the context of the Reagan Administration, this study has shown that during crises, the location of intelligence analysis shifted from the bureaucratic domain of the intelligence community to that of the NSC staff, who functioned as the crisis management team for the administration. While the study has been able to show that the traditionalist approach is not conducive to crisis management, it has not been able to determine exactly where the boundary between the producer and consumer should be located when adhering to the activist discipline. In fact it begs the question as to whether any boundary should exist at all? What is evident, however, is that for intelligence to succeed, the analyst must endeavour to influence the consumer to act upon the intelligence that is presented. This does not imply that the analyst must set policy, however, but simply that the analyst must make himself heard above everyone else.

It would be presumptuous to claim that the study of one administration is sufficient to resolve the producer - consumer dichotomy. The study has revealed that in order to solve that issue, more analysis across a far greater range of administrations and numerous political systems would have to be conducted. Any such endeavour would, however, fall well outside the limitations and scope of a single academic thesis. However, that was not the intended purpose of this thesis, which sought instead to arrive at a better understanding of the function of intelligence in crisis management and the factors which influence the producer - consumer relationship. The strength and significance of this thesis are to be found in the contribution that it makes towards a theoretical model which can be used as a framework for further analysis of this type.

Furthermore, the study has revealed two key issues relating to further research in this field which are proposed below.

6.5 Proposals for further study

Although the emergence of sub-state actors and localised conflict together with the end of the Cold War have emphasised a de facto shift in the mission of the intelligence community, the dynamic nature of our environment is not a requirement for a systemic change in intelligence. While the environment should not influence the manner in which we consider the function of intelligence, it will certainly determine the way in which we collect intelligence, the targets we select and our methods of communication. It has always been our attitude towards who is responsible for policy making and what constitutes sound decision making from an operational and moral perspective, that has influenced and guided our approach to the function of intelligence. However, a crucial factor that has begun to affect the relationship between analysts and decision makers is information technology.

Information technology and its effects upon the convenience and speed of communication is a factor of growing significance that bears investigation in relation to the producer - consumer relationship. Computer processors, portability, expert systems, encryption and network capabilities are all exerting an impact upon the security of intelligence information and the speed with which it is being transmitted between intelligence analysts and the decision makers. Direct and interactive communication irrespective of distances involved between analysts and decision makers has become more practical and a reality. The implications of this upon the

producer - consumer relationship is that the interface between analysts and policy makers, the intelligence managers, may become redundant. While information technology has introduced new problems it is nevertheless a positive development that not only expedites intelligence communication, but may also serve to eliminate politicisation of intelligence by bureaucrats. The situation is currently undergoing significant change. The military have implemented new information technology that facilitates the dissemination and more practical use of intelligence through the Joint Deployable Intelligence Support System (JDISS). This enables military commands around the world to access open source information and to access current intelligence via computer terminals and modems. The system enables them to employ powerful search and sorting facilities that operate on keywords to scan the archives of the intelligence community for pertinent and relevant data.

A similar capability known as INTELINK is still being developed by the intelligence community for policy makers and diplomats. This facility is being delayed, however, because of the larger number of consumers which is complicating the management of access on a 'need to know basis' and according to security clearance gradings. This underlines the significance of this study as the implications of information technology places greater emphasis than ever before on the producer - consumer relationship, as contact becomes more direct.

Greater insight into the producer - consumer dichotomy must therefore focus on the manner in which synthesis between the decision makers and analysts can be achieved. It must concentrate on capturing the policy maker's attention to intelligence information during the policy making process so

that political and strategic objectives can be based on reality. The same applies to decision making and response during crises. Decisions and response initiatives must reflect deference to the realities, constraints and expected reactions of the target population.

Final thoughts on the subject are that further intelligence studies on the producer - consumer relationship must concentrate on two fundamental issues. These are *policy relevance* and *communication effectiveness*. It is in these two fields of endeavour that this author would like to recommend further academic study towards promoting a better understanding of the producer - consumer relationship.

Chronology of Events: 1982 - 1985

June 1982	Israel invades Lebanon. Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps are deployed in the Bekaa Valley. The PLO withdraw from Beirut
Sept 1982	Sabra and Shatilla camp massacres and the arrival of the multi-national peacekeeping force including the U.S. Marines in Beirut
April 1983	Bombing of the U.S. embassy in Beirut
Sept 1983	U.S.S. Virginia and John Rogers fire on Druze positions in Suq al Gharb
Oct 1983	U.S. Marine Barracks and French Barracks destroyed by truck bombs
Feb 1984	Frank Reiger kidnapped and 17 Al Dawa Shia Muslims put on trial in Kuwait for bombing U.S. embassy
March 1984	Jeremy Levin CNN Bureau Chief and William Buckley CIA Chief of Station kidnapped. 17 Al Dawa terrorists convicted in Kuwait
May 1984	Benjamin Weir Presbyterian Minister kidnapped
Oct 1984	Suicide truck-bomb attack on U.S. embassy in Beirut
Dec 1984	Peter Kilburn librarian at AUB kidnapped and Kuwait airliner hijacked and flown to Teheran
Jan 1985	Father Lawrence Jenco, Roman Catholic Priest kidnapped
March 1985	Terry Anderson Associated Press Bureau Chief kidnapped

May 1985	David Jacobson Director of American University Hospital kidnapped
June 1985	William Buckley dies in captivity, Thomas Sutherland Dean of Agriculture at AUB is kidnapped and TWA Flight 847 is hijacked en route to Rome and foced to land finally at Beirut
July 1985	Reagan approves arms for hostages plan

Interview Questionnaire

1.) During the Reagan Administration's involvement in Lebanon, who was responsible for crisis management?
2.) Did the Reagan Administration approach crisis management in accordance with a predetermined strategy and what basic principles were applied? Or were the response decisions initiated as the situation unfolded?
3.) To what extent was the intelligence community consulted during these crisis incidents?
4.) To what extent was the intelligence community consulted by the administration policy makers who were responsible for U.S. foreign policy in Lebanon?
5.) What was the nature of the relationship between Middle East envoy Philip Habib and the intelligence community and between George Schultz and the intelligence community?
6.) Describe the relationship between the National Security Council and the intelligence community and between the NSC Staff and the intelligence community?
7.) Would you describe the intelligence community's relationship with the White House as strictly traditionalist or activist in nature?
8.) What influence did William Casey have on the relationship with the intelligence community and the White House?
9.) What influence did the National Security Advisors - in particular Robert McFarlane have on the intelligence producer - consumer relationship?
10.) In the circumstances leading up to and subsequent to the terrorist attacks against the U.S. Embassies and the Marine Barracks in Beirut, were the decision makers, i.e. the military commanders in Beirut and the decision makers in Washington in possession of sufficient warning intelligence?
11.) Did the above realise the determination and different political objectives of the state actors, i.e. Syria and Iran and of Hizb'allah towards the U.S. in Lebanon?
12.) Describe the influence of the media on the decision making process and the Administration's response to the terrorist attacks, the kidnapping of William Buckley and the hijacking of TWA Flight 847?
13.) How did President Reagan's management style influence the decision making process within the administration?
14.) Were intelligence analysts or National Intelligence Officers included in the crisis management team/process?
15.) In your opinion did the responsibility for intelligence analysis undergo a shift from the intelligence community to the domain of the crisis management team during these crises?

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Government & Official Reports

Hearing of the Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the United States Intelligence Community, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Washington D.C., January 16, 1996

Report of the Select Committee on Intelligence of the United States Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Nomination of William J Casey to be Director of Central Intelligence, January 13, 1981, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981

Report of the Hearing Before the Subcommittee On Security And Terrorism Of The Committee On The Judiciary United States Senate, 97th Congress, 1st Session On Terrorism: The Role Of Moscow And Its Subcontractors, June 26, 1981, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982

Report of the Joint Hearing Before the Investigations Subcommittee and the Defense Policy Panel of the Committee On Armed Services,100th Congress, 1st Session The Tower Board - NSC Function Hearing, April 30, 1987, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1982

Report of the Investigations Subcommittee of the Committee On Armed Services House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Adequacy Of The U.S. Marine Corps Security In Beirut, December 19, 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1983

Report of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Developments In The Middle East, September 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984

Report of the Full Committee Consideration of Investigations Subcommittee Before the Committee On Armed Services, House of Representatives, 98th. Congress, 2nd Session, January 31, 1984, Hearing on the Terrorist Bombing at Beirut International Airport, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984

Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East, Developments in the Middle East, November 1983, Washington, D.C., November 14, 1983, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984

Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, September 28, 1984, Hearing on the Fiscal Year 1985 Embassy Security Supplemental Authorization, Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984

Report by the U.S. Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence House of Representatives , 98th Congress, 2nd Session, January 31, 1984, Hearing on the U.S. Intelligence Performance and the September 29, 1984 Beirut Bombing, U.S. Government Printing Office Washington, D.C., 1984

Report of the Committee on Armed Services United States Senate Hearings on the Organization, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, September 20, 1983, Part 2, Structure and Decisionmaking Procedures of the Department of Defense, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1984

Report of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Developments In The Middle East, January 30, 1985, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1985

Report of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Developments In The Middle East, April 4, 1985, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1985

Report of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 98th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Developments In The Middle East, June 19, 1985, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1985

Report of the President's Commission on Aviation Security and Terrorism, Executive Order 12686, August 4, 1989, Washington, D.C., May, 15, 1990

United States of America Senate Select Committee on Intelligence 1978, The A - B Team Experiment in Competitive Estimating, 1976, as reproduced in Harold P Ford's Estimative Intelligence.

United States Department of State Bureau of Public Affairs, SpecialRreport No.170, Iran's Use of International Terrorism, Washington, D.C., November 1987

Wolfowitz, P, "The Challenge of Managing "Uncertainty" Paul Wolfowitz on Intelligence- Policy Relations", CIA Directorate of Intelligence Publication for Product Evaluation Staff, March 1995

Report of the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee On Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, 99th Congress, 1st Session, Hearing on the Media, Dilpomacy, And Terrorism In The Middle East, July 30, 1985, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1985

Individuals Interviewed

Mr James Adams Sunday Times Washington Bureau Chief

Lt.Cmdr. William Beck, US Navy intelligence communications officer

Dr John Bondonella Senior Researcher Rand Corporation Washington

Ambassador Paul Bremmer, Kissinger Associates, New York

Mr Vincent Cannistraro former CIA officer

Professor John L Esposito, Director Center for Muslim - Christian Understanding, Georgetown University

Dr Daniel B Fox, Senior Operations Research Analyst, Rand Corporation, Washington, D.C.

Mr Graham Fuller, former National Intelligence Officer during the Reagan Administration

Mr Robert Grace, Special Agent in charge Crisis Management Unit at FBI Academy Quantico Bay

Mr Jan Herring President The Futures Group

Mr Geoffrey Kemp - former NSC advisor to Reagan Administration

Mr Noel Koch, former counter terrorist officer at the Pentagon during the Reagan Administration

Mr David Martin, editor CBS News

Brigadier Andy Massey, Director Hambros, former Commanding Officer SAS

Mr Rodney McDaniel, U.S. State Department, Washington,D.C.

Dr Ariel Merari, University of Tel Aviv

Mr Graham Saltmarsh Detective Inspector Head of New Scotland Yard Criminal Intelligence Division

Dr Magnus Ranstorp Lecturer Middle East Politics St Andrews University

Vice Admiral Stansfield Turner, former DCI of the CIA

Mr Howard Teicher, former NSC staff officer and deputy to NSA Robert McFarlane

John Walcott, Assistant Managing Editor, U.S. News & World Report

Secondary Sources

Adams, J. The New Spies: Exploring the Frontiers of Espionage, Hutchinson, London, 1994

Allison, G, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis, Boston, Little Brown & Co, 1971

Allison, Roy, and Phil Williams, Superpower Competition and Crisis Prevention in the Third World, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990

Andrew, Christopher, The Missing Dimension: Governments and Intelligence Communities in the Twentieth Century, London, Macmillan, 1984

Andrew, Christopher, For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush, London, Harper Collins, 1995

Aston, C. A Contemporary Crisis: Political Hostage-Taking and the Experience of Western Europe, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1982

Bathurst, R. Intelligence and the Mirror, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Sage Publications, London, 1993

Ball, George, W. Error And Betrayal In Lebanon: An Analysis Of The Israeli Invasion Of Lebanon And The Implications For U.S. - Israeli Relations, Washington D.C., Foundation For Middle East Peace, 1984

Beaton, L. The Reform of Power: A proposal for an international security system. London, Chatto & Windus, 1972

Beckwith, C (eds.) Delta Force, New York, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1983

Berkowitz, Bruce, D and Allan E Goodman, Strategic Intelligence for American National Security, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1989.

Bell, Coral, The Conventions of Crisis: A Study in Diplomatic Management, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971

Breckinridge, Scott, D, The CIA and the U.S. Intelligence System, Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1986

Brecher, Michael, (eds.) Crisis, Conflict and Instability, Pergammon Press, Oxford, 1989

Brzezinski, Z. Power And Principle: Memoirs of the National Security Advisor 1977-1981, New York, Farrar, 1985

Booth, K. Strategy and Ethnocentrism, London, Croom & Helm, 1979

Brown, H. Thinking About National Security, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1983

Burton, J. Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1984

Bull, H. The Anarchical Society - A Study of Order in World Politics, Macmillan, London, 1977

Buzan, Barry, People, States & Fear: An Agenda for International Security Studies in the Post-Cold War Era, Simon & Schuster, Hertfordshire, 1991

Carey, R and Trevor Salmon, International Security in the Modern World,Basingstoke, McMillan, 1992

Cimbala, Stephen, Intelligence and Intelligence Policy in a Democratic Society, New York Transnational Publishers, 1987

Cline, Ray, Secrets, Spies and Scholars: Blueprint of the Essential CIA, Washington, DC: Acropolis Books, 1976

Clutterbuck, Richard, Terrorism in an Unstable World, Routledge, London, 1994

Cobban, Helena, The Superpowers and the Syrian-Israeli Conflict: Beyond Crisis Management?, New York, Praeger, 1981

Cohen, R. Threat Perception in International Crises, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1979

Cohen, Yoel, Media Diplomacy: The Foreign Office in the Mass Communications Age, London, Frank Cass, 1987

Colby, William, Honourable Men: My Life in the CIA, London, Hutchinson & Company, 1978

Corson, William, The Armies of Ignorance: The Rise of the American Intelligence Empire, New York, Dial Press, 1977

Coughlin, Con, Hostage, London, Little Brown & Co., 1992

Crenshaw, Martha, Terrorism, Legitimacy and Power, Middletown, Connecticut, Wesleyen University Press, 1983

Deacon, Richard, A History of the British Secret Service, Revised Edition, Panther Books, London, 1980

Deutsch, Karl, The Nerves of Government: Models of Political Communication and Control, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1966

Dixon, Norman, On the Psychology of Military Incompetence, London, Jonathan Cape, 1976

Dougherty, James, and Pfaltzgraff, Richard, Contending Theories of International Relations, New York, N.Y. Harper Row, 1981

Downes-Le Guin, Theodore and Bruce Hoffman, The Impact Of Terrorism On Public Opinion, 1988 To 1989, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1993

Easton, David. A Framework for Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1985

Esposito, John, The Iranian Revolution: Its Global Impact, Florida, University Press of Florida, 1990

----------, The Islamic Threat: Myth Or Reality, Oxford University Press, 1992

Farson, A.S. (et al), Security and Intelligence in a Changing World, Frank Cass, London, 1990

Franck, T. Secrecy and Foreign Policy, New York, Oxford University Press, 1974

Festinger, Leon, A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1957

Freedman, Lawrence, US Intelligence and the Soviet Strategic Threat, London, Macmillan Press, 1977

Friedman, Thomas, L, From Beirut To Jerusalem, New York, Farrar Straus Giroux, 1990

Fisk, Robert, Pity The Nation. Lebanon At War, Oxford University Press, 1992

Galbraith, J, The Anatomy of Power, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1983

Gentry, John, Lost Promise: How CIA Analysis Misserves The Nation, New York, University Press of America, 1993

George, Alexander, L. Avoiding War: Problems of Crisis Management, Westview Press, Oxford, 1991

Godson, Roy, Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's : Analysis & Estimates, Washington DC, Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, 1981

---------- Intelligence Requirements for the 1980's: Policy, Washington DC, CSI, / National Strategy Information Centre,1981

---------- Intelligence Requirements for the 1990's, Washington DC, National Strategy Information Centre, 1989

----------, Comparing Foreign Intelligence, New York, Pergammon-Brassey's, 1988

Haddad, Wadi, Lebanon: The Policy of Revolving Doors, Washington, D.C., Praeger, 1985

Hammel, Eric, The Root: The Marines in Beirut, August 1982 - February 1984, London, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985

Hart, P, Groupthink in Government. A Study of Small Groups and Policy Failure, University of Leiden, 1990

Hastedt, Glen, Controlling Intelligence, Cass Series Studies in Intelligence, Frank Cass, London, 1991

Herman, Charles, (eds.), International Crises: Insights from Behavioural Research, New York, N.Y. The Free Press, 1972

Hilsman, Roger, Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1956

Hiro, Dilip, Lebanon: Fire And Embers. A History of the Lebanese Civil War, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1992

Hoffman, Bruce, (et al.), Lessons for Contemporary Counterinsurgencies: The Rhodesian Experience, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1991

----------, and Jennifer M Taw, A Strategic Framework For Countering Terrorism And Insurgency, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1992

----------, Defense Policy And Low-Intensity Conflict, The Development of Britain's Small Wars Doctrine During The 1950s, Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1991

----------, Recent Trends And Future Prospects Of Iranian Sponsored International Terrorism, Santa Monica, CA: RAND,1990

Hopple, Gerald and Bruce Watson, The Military Intelligence Community, Boulder, Westview Press, 1986

Industrial College of the Armed Forces. The Economics of National Security: National Intelligence, Washington DC, Industrial College of the Armed Forces, 1964

Janis, Irvin, Groupthink - Psychological Studies of Policy Decisions and Fiascos, Boston, Houghton-Mifflin & Co, 1982

Jansen, Michael, The Battle Of Beirut. Why Israel Invaded Lebanon, Boston, Ma, South End Press, 1983

Jeffreys-Jones, R. The CIA & American Democracy, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989

Jervis, R. Perception and Misperception in International Politics, Princeton University Press, 1976

Johnson, Loch, America's Secret Power: The CIA In a Democratic Society, New York, Oxford University Press, 1989

Katz, Samuel, M. Guards Without Frontiers: Israel's War Against Terrorism, London, Arms and Armour Press, 1990

Keddie, Nikki, (et.al.), Neither East Nor West: Iran, The Soviet Union and the United States, London, Yale University Press, 1990

Kennedy, W. The Intelligence War, Salamander Books, London, 1983

Kent, Sherman, Strategic Intelligence for American World Policy, Princeton University Press, 1949

Keohane, Robert and Nye, Joseph, Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition, Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1979

Kissinger, Henry, The Years of Upheaval, Wiedenfeld & Nicolson, New York, 1982

----------, The White House Years, Boston, Little Brown & Co, 1979

Kirkpatrick, Lyman.B. Jr. The US Intelligence Community: Foreign Policy and Domestic Activities, New York: Hill & Wong, 1973

Kleindorfer, Paul, (et.al.), Decision Sciences: An Integrated Perspective, Cambridge Ma, Cambridge University Press, 1993

Knoke, David, Political Networks. The Structural Perspective, Cambridge University Press, 1990

Krell, G. The Development of the Concept of Security, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, 1979

Lagadec, Patrick, Preventing Chaos in a Crisis, McGraw-Hill, London, English Edition, 1993

Landau, Julian, (ed.), The Media: Freedom Or Responsibility. The War in Lebanon, 1982 A Case Study, Jerusalem, Ahva Press, 1984

Laqueur, Walter, A World of Secrets: The Uses and Limits of Intelligence, New York, Basic Books, 1985

Levite, Ariel, Intelligence and Strategic Surprises, New York, Columbia University Press, 1987

Louw, Mike, National Security - A Modern Approach, ISSUP, Pretoria, 1978

Lowenthal, Mark, M, U.S. Intelligence: Evolution and Anatomy, New York, Praeger, 1984

Mackinlay, John, The Peacekeepers: An Assessment Of Peacekeeping Operations At The Arab - Israel Interface, Boston, Unwin Hyman, 1989

Mangold, Peter, National Security & International Relations, Routledge, London, 1990

Margiotta, F. Technology, Strategy and National Security Washington DC, National Defence University Press, 1985

Marshall, Jonathan, (et.al.), The Iran Contra Connection: Secret Teams And Covert Operations In The Reagan Era, Boston, South End Press, 1987

Martin, David, & Walcott, John, Best Laid Plans: The Inside Story of America's War Against Terrorism, Harper & Row, New York, 1988

Maurer, Alfred, (et.al.), Intelligence: Policy and Process, Boulder, Westview Press, 1985

May, Ernest, Knowing One's Enemies: Intelligence Assessment Before the Two World Wars, Princeton University Press, 1984

Mayer, Jane (et.al.), Landslide: The Unmaking Of The President. 1984 - 1988, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1988.

Menges, Constantine, Inside the National Security Council, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1988

Meyer, Herbert, Real World Intelligence: Organised Information for Executives, Grove Weidenfeld, New York, 1991

Meyers, G (eds.) Managing Crises: A Positive Approach, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1986

Norton, Augustus Richard, Amal And The Shi'a: The Struggle For The Soul Of Lebanon, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1987

Nimmo, Dan and Combs, James, Nightly Horrors. Crisis Coverage by Television Network News, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1985

Peck Juliana, S. The Reagan Administration And The Palestinian Question, Washington, D.C., Institute For Palestine Studies, 1984

Persico, Joseph, Casey: From OSS to the CIA, London, Viking Books, 1990

Perry, Mark, Eclipse: The Last Days of the CIA, New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1992

Perrow, C, Normal Accidents: Living With High-Risk Technologies, New York, N.Y., Basic Books, 1984

Prados, John, Keepers of the Keys: A History of the National Security Council from Truman to Bush, New York, William Morrow & Co., 1991

Ranelagh, John, The Agency: The Rise and Decline of the CIA, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1986

Richelson, Jeffrey, The U.S. Intelligence Community, Cambridge MA, Ballinger Publishing Company, 2nd Edition, 1989

Robertson, Ken (ed.), British and American Approaches to Intelligence, London, Macmillan Press, 1986

Rourke, Francis, Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy, Baltimore, Maryland, Johns Hopkins University, 1972

Rosenthal, Uriel, (et al.), Coping With Crises: The Management of Disasters, Riots and Terrorism, Charles Thomas Publishers, Springfield Illinois, 1989

Rubin, Barry, The Politics of Counter-Terrorism: The Ordeal of Democratic States, Foreign Policy Institute, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, 1990

Rushdie, Salman, The Satanic Verses, London, Viking Books, 1988

Shulsky, A & Sims, J. What is Intelligence. Consortium for the Study of Intelligence, Washington DC, April 29, 1992

Seale, Patrick, Asad, London, IB Taurus, 1988

Shulsky, Abram, N, Silent Warfare: Understanding the World of Intelligence, New York, Brasseys, 1991

Schultz, George, Turmoil and Triumph, My Years As Secretary Of State, New York, Macmillan, 1993

Shoemaker, Christopher. The NSC Staff: Counselling the Council, Oxford, Westview Press, 1991

Shrivastava, P, Bhopal: The Anatomy of a Crisis, Cambridge Massachusetts, Ballinger, 1987

Simon, H, The Sciences of the Artificial, Cambridge Press, 1968

Simpson, Christopher, National Security Directives of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, Oxford, Westview Press, 1995

Smist, Frank, J, Congress Oversees the United States Intelligence Community 1947-1989, Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, 1990

Spoelstra, Manie, Negotiation: Theories, Strategies & Skills, Juta & Co, Credo Press, Cape Town, 1992

Steury, Donald P, (ed.), Sherman Kent and the Board of National Estimates: Collected Essays, Centre for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, Springfield, VA, 1994

Strong, Kenneth, Men of Intelligence, New York, St Martin's Press, 1972

Taheri, Amir, Nest Of Spies: America's Journey into Disaster In Iran, London, Hutchinson, 1988

Tanter, Raymond, Who's at the Helm? Lessons of Lebanon, Oxford, Westview Press, 1990

Taylor, Peter, States of Terror: Democracy and Political Violence, London, BBC Books,1993

Taylor, P, Nonstate Actors in International Politics. From Transregional to Substate Organisations, Westview Press / Boulder London, 1984

Teicher, Howard and Gayle Radley Teicher, Twin Pillars to Desert Storm: America's Flawed Vision in the Middle East from Nixon to Bush, New York, William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1993

Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War, Crawley translation, New York, Harper & Row, 1978

Toffler, Alvin, Powershift: Knowledge, Wealth and Violence at the Edge of the 21St Century, Bantam Books, London, 1991

----------, War and Anti-War: Making Sense of Today's Global Chaos, Warner Books, Little Brown, London, 1993

Tschirgi, Dan, The American Search For Mideast Peace, New York, Praeger, 1989

Tzu ,Sun., The Art of War. Translation by Samuel B Griffith, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963

Turner, Stansfield. Secrecy and Democracy: The CIA in Transition, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1985

----------, Terrorism and Democracy, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1991

Viotti, Paul, R and Mark V Kauppi, International Relations Theory, Realism, Pluralism, Globalism, New York, Macmillan, 1993.

Wardlaw, Grant, Political Terrorism. Theory, Tactics and Counter-measures, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989

Watson, Bruce, (et.al.), United States Intelligence Encyclopaedia, Garland Publishing, Inc, New York, 1990

Weinberger, Casper, Fighting For Peace, New York, N.Y:, Time Warner, 1991

Wilkinson, Paul, and Alasdair M Stewart, Contemporary Research on Terrorism, Aberdeen University Press, 1989

----------, Terrorism and the Liberal State, London, Macmillan 1977

Woodward, Bob, Veil: The Secret Wars of the CIA, 1981-1987, New York, Simon & Schuster, 1987

Wohlstetter, Roberta, Pearl Harbour-Warning and Decision, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962

Secondary Sources / Journal Articles

(Author Unknown), "Managing/Teaching Analysts," Studies in Intelligence 30, Fall 1986 (Released under the Freedom of Information Act, Author's name not released)

(Author Unknown), "An Opportunity Unfulfilled: The Use and Perceptions of Intelligence at the White House," The Washington Quarterly, Vol.12, No.1, Winter 1987/88

Andrew, C. Whitehall, "Washington and the Intelligence Services." International Affairs, Vol.5, No.1, Summer, 1980

Armstrong, Anne. "Bridging the Gap: Intelligence and Policy." Washington Quarterly, Vol.12, No.1, Winter, 1989

Atwater, Tony, "Terrorism on the Evening News: An Analysis of Coverage of the TWA Hostage Crisis on NBC Nightly News," Political Communication and Persuasion, Vol.4, 1987

Auger, Vincent, "The War Powers Resolution and U.S. Policy in Lebanon," Pew Case Study No. 358, Washington, D.C., Georgetown University.

Axelgard, Frederick, "Deception At Home And Abroad: Implications Of The Iran Arms Scandal For U.S. Foreign Policy,"American-Arab Affairs, (no date or Vol. no. available)

Baldwin, H. "The Future of Intelligence." Strategic Review, Vol.4, No.3, Summer, 1976

Bass, Gail, Brian M Jenkins, Konrad Kellen and David Ronfeldt, "Options for U.S. Policy on Terrorism," Rand Report R-2764-RC, July 1981

Baumard, P, "From Noticing to Making Sense: Using Intelligence to Develop Strategy." International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.7, No.1

Betts, R. "Intelligence for Policymaking." Washington Quarterly, Vol.3, No.3, Summer, 1980

----------, "Analysis, War and Decision: Why Intelligence Failures are Inevitable", Studies in Intelligence, Fall 1979

Bonthous, J, "Understanding Intelligence Across Cultures," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.7, No.3, Fall 1994

Brammer, Deborah and Hulnick, Arthur, "Intelligence and Policy - The On-Going Debate," Consortium For The Study Of Intelligence, (Document released under the CIA historical review program)

Brandwein, D. "Maxims for Analysis." Studies in Intelligence, Winter 1978

Brzezinski, Zbigniew, "The NSC'S Midlife Crisis," Foreign Policy, No.69, Winter 1987-88

Burris, W. "The Uses of History in Intelligence Analysis," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.6, No.3

Caldwell, G, "Political Analysis for Intelligence", Center for the Study of Intelligence, CSI 92-005, November 1992

Casey, William, "Economic Intelligence for the Future," Studies in Intelligence, Summer 1982

Cline, Ray, "Policy Without Intelligence," Foreign Policy, Vol.23, Summer, 1976

Cogan, Charles, "Intelligence and Crisis Management: The Importance of the Pre-Crisis," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.9, No.4, October 1994

Cutler, Robert, "Intelligence as Foundation for Policy," Studies in Intelligence, Fall 1959

Dabelko, G & Dabelko, D. "The U.S. Intelligence Community and the International Environment," A paper delivered at the Annual General Meeting of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, Georgia, March 31-April 4, 1992

Davis, Jack, "Combating Mind-Set," Studies in Intelligence Vol.36, No.5, 1992

----------, "The Kent-Kendal Debate," Studies in Intelligence Vol.36, No.5, 1992

----------, "The Challenge of Opportunity Analysis," Centre for the Study in Intelligence - An Intelligence Monograph, CSI 92-003U, July 1992

----------, "Analytical Support for Peace Talks", Center for the Study of Intelligence, CSI 92-004U, October 1992

----------, "Changes in Analytical Tradecraft in CIA's Directorate of Intelligence", CIA Directorate of Intelligence Publication for Product Evaluation Staff, April 1995

Deeb, Marius K, "Lebanon: Prospects For National Reconciliation In The Mid-1980s," Middle East Journal, Vol.38, No.2 (Spring 1984)

Donovan, Murphy G, "Intelligence Rams And Policy Lions," Studies in Intelligence, Fall, 1986

Flanagan, Stephen, J, "The Coordination Of National Intelligence," Defense & Foreign Policy, 1985

Garfinkle, Adam, M, "Crisis Decision Making: The Banality Of Theory," Orbis, Spring 1986

Garnett, J. "The Analysis of Threats," International Relations, November, 1971

Gates, Robert, "An Opportunity Unfulfilled: The Use and Perceptions of Intelligence at the White House," Washington Quarterly, Vol.12, No.1, Winter, 1989

Gazit, Shlomo, "Intelligence Estimates and the Decisionmaker," Studies in Intelligence, Fall 1988

Gries, David, "A New Look For Intelligence," Intelligence and National Security, Vol.10, No.1, January 1995

Gromoll, Robert, H, "Negotiations on Troop Withdrawals from Lebanon: The May 1983 Accord," Pew Case Study 310, 1987

Hastedt, Glen, "Can Intelligence Agencies Learn: Reporting After The Terrorist Attack On The Marines In Lebanon," Paper Presented at the International Studies Association, Atlanta, April, 2, 1992

----------, "Intelligence and US Foreign Policy: How to Measure Success?," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.1

Heuer, R, "Biases in Evaluation of Evidence," Studies in Intelligence, Winter 1981

Heymann, Hans, "The Intelligence - Policy Relationship," Studies in Intelligence, Winter 1984

Hof, Frederick, C, "The Beirut Bombing Of October 1983: An Act Of Terrorism?" Parameters, Vol.XV, No.2,

Hulnick, Arthur, "The Intelligence Producer-Policy Consumer Linkage: A Theoretical Approach," Intelligence and National Security, May 1986

----------, "Learning About US Intelligence: Difficult But Not Impossible," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.1

Huntington, Samuel, "The Clash of Civilisations," Foreign Affairs, Vol.27, Summer 1993

Indyke, Martin, "Reagan and the Middle East," SAIS Review, Vol.7, No.1, Spring 1987

----------, "Intelligence Epistemology: Dealing with the Unbelievable," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.6, No.3

James, Alan, "The realism of Realism: the state and the study of International Relations," Review of International Studies, Vol. 15, 1989

Jenkins, Brian, Janera Johnson and David Ronfeldt, "Numbered Lives: Some Statistical Observations From 77 International Hostage Episodes," Rand Report, P-5905, July 1977

Jervis, Robert, "Intelligence and Foreign Policy: A Review Essay," International Security, Vol.11, No.3, Winter, 1986-87

Johnson, Loch, "Seven Sins of Strategic Intelligence," World Affairs, Vol.146, No.2, February 1974

Katz, Y. "Strategies For Data Gathering and Evaluation in the Intelligence Community," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.3

Kennedy, David, "Lebanon and the Intelligence Community," Kennedy School of Government, Case Study C15-88-8590, 1988

Kennedy, David and Richard N Haass, "The Reagan Administration and Lebanon," Pew Case Study No.340, 1994

Kitchens, Allen, H, "Crisis and Intelligence: Two Case Studies," Consortium For The Study Of Intelligence, (Document released under the CIA historical review program)

Levin, Jeremy, "Remarks to Committee to Protect Journalists," Political Communication and Persuasion, Vol.4, 1987

Lowenthal, Mark, "Tribal Tongues: Intelligence Consumers, Intelligence Producers," Studies in Intelligence, Summer 1992

Maoz, Z, "Decision to Raid Entebbe," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol.25, No.4, December 1981

McCrea, Brett, A, "U.S. Counter-Terrorist Policy: A Proposed Strategy For A Non-Traditional Threat," Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement, Vol.3, No.3, Winter 1994

Montgomery, D, " Towards Strategic Intelligence Systems," Journal of Marketing, Vol.43, No.4, 1979

Muller, Rainer, "Corporate Crisis Management," Journal of Long Range Planning, Vol.18, No.5, 1985

Murphy & Smith, "Making Intelligence Analysis Responsive to Policy Concerns," Studies in Intelligence, Summer 1973

Nachmias, Nitza, "America's Political Leverage: Fact or Myth? The Case of the Lebanese Crisis, 1982 - 1984," Global Perspectives, Vol.2, No.1, Spring 1984

Odeen, Philip, A, "The Role Of The National Security Council In Coordinating And Integrating U.S. Defense And Foreign Policy," Defense & Foreign Policy, 1985

Oseth, John M, "Combating Terrorism: The Dilemmas Of A Decent Nation," Parameters, Vol.XV, No.1, 1984

Ransom, Harry Howe, "Congress and the Reform of the CIA," Policy Studies Journal, Vol.5, No.4, Summer, 1977

----------, "Strategic Intelligence and Foreign Policy," World Politics, Vol.27, No.1, October 1974

Rosenthal, Uriel, "The Bureau-Politics of Crisis Management," Public Administration, The Royal Institute for Public Administration, London, Vol.69, Summer 1991

Rubin, Barry and Laura Blum, "The May 1983 Agreement Over Lebanon," Pew Case Study No 312, 1992

Schroeder, Paul, "Historical Reality Vs Neo-realist Theory," International Security, Vol.19, No.1, 1994

Sheldon, R, "The Spartacus Rebellion: A Roman Intelligence Failure?" International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence, Vol.6, No.1

Snyder, Rodney A, "Negotiating With Terrorists: TWA Flight 847," Pew Case Study No.333, 1994

Stafford, Thomas, "Assessing Current Intelligence," International Journal of Intelligence and Counterintelligence

Steele, R. "A Critical Evaluation of US National Intelligence Capabilities," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.6, No.2

Steigman, Andrew, "The Iran Hostage Negotiations: November 1979 - January 1981, Pew Case Study No. 348, 1993

Sigurdson, J. "Intelligence Gathering and Japan: The Elusive Role of Grey Intelligence," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.1

Smith, D, (eds.), "Back From the Brink-Post-Crisis Management," Journal of Long Range Planning, Vol.26, 1993

Smith, J, "Crisis Management Under Strain," Science, No.225 (21 August, 1984)

Toffler, Alvin. "Powershift: The World's Most Dangerous Brain Drains," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.3

Treverton, Gregory F and Klocke, James, "The Fall of the Shah," Pew Case Study No.311, 1994

Troy, Thomas, "The Correct Definition of Intelligence," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.4

Ullman, R. "Redefining Security," International Security, Summer, 1983

Valcourt, Richard, "Congress and Intelligence Policy," International Journal of Intelligence & Counterintelligence, Vol.5, No.2

Theses & Dissertations

Bar-Joseph, Uri, Out of Control: Intelligence Intervention in Politics in the U.S.A., Britain and Israel, 1990, Stanford University (US), Ph.D. Thesis

Beck, William, U.S. Foreign Policy In Lebanon Under The Reagan Administration 1981 - 1989, George Washington University, M.Phil. dissertation in Political Science, 1989

Belk, Timothy, The End of the Cold War: Implications for U.S. Intelligence, 1992, University of St Andrews, M.Phil. dissertation in International Relations.

Davidson, S, The Liberal Democratic Response to Terrorism: A Comparative Study of the Policies of Canada, USA, and the United Kingdom, 1986, University of Aberdeen, Ph.D. Thesis.

Ranstorp, Magnus, Radical Shi'ism in Lebanon: Western Governments crisis management techniques in dealing with hostage incidents, 1982 - 1992, 1994, St Andrews, University of St Andrews, Ph.D. Thesis,

Siobeck, S, Democratic Responses to Revolutionary Terrorism: A Comparative Study of Great Britain, Italy and West Germany, Claremont Graduate School. Ph.D. Thesis, 1990

Steenkamp, Willem, Petrus, The Intelligence Function of the Political System, University of South Africa (UNISA), Ph.D. Thesis in Political Science, 1992

PERIODICALS

Newsweek

Time

DAILIES

The Guardian
The Independent,
The International Herald Tribune
The Jerusalem Post
The Los Angeles Times,
The Miami Herald
The New York Times,
The Sunday Times
The Times (London)
The Washington Post